

TEEVADHARA

A JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION

YOUTH IN REVOLT

WHAT IS REVOLT

J. C. Manalel

YOUTH IN REVOLT - A GENERAL SURVEY

Cyriac Joseph

AN EXPLANATORY APPROACH

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EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

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STUDENT REVOLT IN EUROPE

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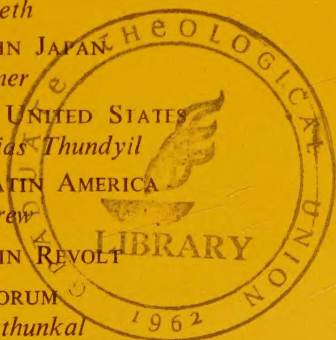
STUDENT YOUTH IN LATIN AMERICA

Ileana Renfrew

PHILIPPINE YOUTH IN REVOLT

DISCUSSION FORUM

Mathew Kanjirathunkal



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The Problem of Man

YOUTH IN REVOLT

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What is Revolt ?

(EDITORIALY)

Student revolt is a global phenomenon today. It assumed alarming proportions in the last decade in both economically developed and non-developed, capitalist and communist, countries, changing educational structures, transforming the nature of politics and toppling governmental machinery.

It was in Latin America, as far back as 1918, that student revolt started. The Cordoba Manifesto presented by the students of Cordoba University in Argentina was the first instance where students as a body demanded university autonomy and a share in university administration. Before it spread in quick succession throughout Latin America, its echoes were heard, as early as 1921, in India where students came out of their schools and colleges to join their elders who fought for their country's freedom. But it took almost fifty years for the phenomenon to appear in North America and Europe.

The present number of *Jeevadhara* is an attempt at an analysis of youth in revolt. 'Youth' here most often means students who are the most articulate and more easily form into a militant movement.

A rebel, as Albert Camus says, is one who says 'No'. He says 'No' because he thinks that things are exceeding the limits of toleration. But his 'No' is also a 'Yes' because he thinks that he is somehow justified in fighting for a change of the prevailing system. The object of the 'No' is this system, whether social, political, cultural or religious, which is called the 'establishment', and the 'No' is directed against the authorities or custodians of the establishment. All acts of revolt need not always be immediately connected with the system, but some may linger

on *ad hoc* issues which are aimed at removing obstruction or at reducing dissatisfaction or getting rid of alienation.

Three stages may be distinguished in the process of revolt. The 'No' may not be expressed by the mass of people or a group, but they feel it and may feel it strongly. Then we have 'unrest'. It may be expressed in words. It is then 'protest'. When, however, it is expressed in deeds, such as strikes, sit-ins, picketings, 'occupation', it is 'revolt', in the strict sense. Loosely speaking, unrest and protest may be called revolt and also passive resistance such as hippyism.

There is a widespread notion among elderly people that whatever be the social and political situation of the country and whatever be the type of education imparted to students, they have to obey and be busy at their desks. Church leaders especially are careful and confident when they quote from the gospel (Lk 2:51) what is said of the young Jesus that he was "obedient to them". They most often forget to recall the event that had just preceded this. To the parents (and could there be any better than they were?) who, after three days of most anxious searching, sorrowfully complained (or mildly rebuked him?) thus: "My child, why have you done this to us?", Jesus seems to have turned stiff and said: "Did you not know that I must be busy with my Father's affairs?" Whether we, young and old, poor humans are really busy with our heavenly Father's affairs has to be carefully examined. But one thing is sure. The educators and Church leaders who want to bring up their students as a flock of lambs quite unaware of the illiteracy and squalor of the surroundings, and insensitive to the appalling poverty and exploitation of the masses, will be doing indescribable harm to the Kingdom of God and to the future of the country. Instead the young should be taught to think for themselves and hunger and thirst after truth and justice.

In preparation for this issue of *Jeevadhara* a seminar was held which in its own limited way, was representative of the youth and educators and parents of Kerala. Papers were presented and discussions were held by groups and in general. Some of the findings of the discussions by the young people were such as would disillusion the older generation and rouse them from their lethargy, insincerity and selfishness. The young people were

candid enough to admit that most of the student revolt (in the loose sense) in this country is substandard and hardly have come up to the stage of revolt in the strict sense. Considering the extreme poverty and misery of the vast masses of India in spite of so many five-year plans, and the crass indifference and selfishness of a minority who grow rich on exploitation, youth want to keep on revolting so that the revolts may snowball into a revolution. And as our education is quite unsuitable to the country as well as to the times after so many years of independence, they want the whole process of education except in its elementary and technological phases to be brought to a standstill. In all their efforts they wish to keep back from all reactionary forces in which they include religion. This only shows their complete ignorance of religion, for which none but we are to blame. As the articles that follow discuss these problems no comment is necessary here. All the same it may be said that as long as our students are willing to be pawns of political parties who rate their interests above the good of the country and are split into an endless number of factions, most likely, there will not be, strictly speaking, a student revolt in this country. Their efforts will end up in occasional agitations on *ad hoc* issues marred often by selfish motives and vested interests and these will recoil on young people themselves with the result of disintegration and degeneration.

The present issue of *Jeevadhara* has three parts. The first contains papers presented at the seminar, but modified in the light of the discussions held therein. They deal with the different factors of youth in revolt. After a general survey by Cyriac Joseph, psychological, educational, political and socio-cultural, and philosophical aspects are discussed respectively by P. Ramachandra Poduval, K. T. Sebastian, B. Hridayakumari and P. T. Chacko. A Christian reflection of the phenomenon is presented by Gerwin van Leeuwen.

The second part contains analyses of student revolts in other countries and continents. The European situation is discussed with insight by Francis Vineeth, that of Japan by Klaus Luhmer and of the USA by John Kuhn and Zacharias Thundyil, of Latin America by Ileana Renfrew and that of the Philippines. We tried but could not succeed in getting similar analyses on Africa and China. Student revolts of the economically

developing countries can be compared, and it will be seen how Latin America leads, where some eminent churchmen are behind the movement. Then these could be compared and contrasted with those of the economically developed nations. It is extremely consoling to note that students as a whole in both have thrown in their lot with the poor and the oppressed. Contrasting, however, student revolts in non-communist countries with communist ones, it is seen that the students in the latter revolt only at their risk unless they stand with the party.

The third part of this journal contains a discussion forum which was started in 1972 with the first issue, but was not afterwards followed up. As it has already been said, at the start, this new feature entirely depends on the response it meets with from our readers. Such discussions, we believe, will promote serious theological thinking and writing which will be conducive to the birth and growth of an Indian theology.

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J. C. Manalel

PART I

Youth in Revolt— A General Survey

I must confess that I have not conducted any systematic research or statistical survey for the purpose. All the views expressed herein are based on my personal experiences and on an independent assessment of the experience of other people as revealed to me.

Exaggeration of the situation

I feel that undue importance and publicity have been given to young people and to their problems and that the situation has been exaggerated. Thus an impression has been created that the situation is at its worst and beyond control and that all young people are in revolt while, as a matter of fact, many of them have not even thought of it. On hearing such a big hue and cry some innocent and well-meaning young people are anxiously looking around for problems and for sufficient provocation for a possible revolt on their part! In their anxiety to identify themselves with the youth of the day they are even prepared to invent problems and to participate in anything which will possibly be described by other people as a manifestation of the protest and revolt! Thus problems and revolt are being imposed on at least some of the young people.

In this context, the enthusiasm and concern shown by some elders in the problems of youth are to be noted. They include parents, teachers, politicians, administrators, journalists, social

workers, religious authorities and the like. It has become almost a fashion for most of them to assume the role of patrons of the troubled, confused, shattered, oppressed and revolting young people! They plead for a sympathetic understanding of youth. They try to explain the complex nature of the problem. They are prepared to give representation to youth on administrative bodies. Some of them endorse the so-called 'radical views' of youth. They try to give ideological and psychological explanations for the behaviour of the young.

This exaggeration of the youth-situation is deliberate to a great extent. The vested interests of the elder people and of the business-houses are behind it. In the context of a growing awareness among the young people regarding their role and strength in the social and political life of the country, many elders are anxious to pose as sympathizers in order to win the support and co-operation of youth to maintain their own positions in social and political life and to promote their own vested interests. Some of them perhaps want to cover up and even justify their own failures and weaknesses by focusing attention on the behaviour of the youth and by describing it as a sign of protest or revolt. Certain ideas on authority, discipline, morality, sex etc. which are so near and dear to some in the elder generation and which they have been practising or wish to practise are proclaimed to the whole world as "the New Commandments of Youth" in order to claim acceptance and respectability for such ideas. When some of the young people demanded certain changes in society, which their elders genuinely aspired to but could not achieve, they came out with all their support and patronage. Theirs is a confession of their failure and also an expression of their hope in the strength of present-day youth to effect the changes. I do not forget the fact that there are attempts, though rare, on the part of some senior people to give the young people a place which they deserve in decision-making as well as implementation. They are prepared to accept the idealism and enthusiasm of youth along with the pragmatism and wisdom of the old. Unfortunately these elders are seldom recognized by even the young people.

In the context of much propaganda, exaggeration and pretence, it is very difficult to find out the real nature of the

problems, the extent of true involvement of young people and the depth of the revolt.

I am not denying the existence of problems nor do I underestimate their importance. I object only to the undue importance, publicity and exaggeration which worsen the situation and prevent a solution, if any.

A problem for the old and the young

Let us look at these problems. Do they concern the young alone? Or, do they concern elders too? A partial approach to this question is often adopted when these problems are attributed to youth alone and the elder generation are exempted. I believe that most of the problems concern both the young and the old. Take the case of sexuality or religion and faith. Do not the problems manifest themselves among both young and old? Indiscipline, dishonesty, corruption, laziness, changing attitude to authority etc. occur among the elders too. Economic and ideological problems also concern them. Dissatisfaction with the present system, frustration, protest and longing for a radical change, are shown by the elder generation as well. Let us look closer at the situation. A growing awareness of social justice and a concern for the poor and the oppressed is visible in a large section of the Indian youth today. This is expressed through the policy declarations of many of the political and non-political youth or student organizations and movements in India. The conclusions of study and discussion groups of young people also indicate it. They find "a society in which the fruits of the earth are the monopoly of a few, where values are based on material acquisition, where nobility and decency are synonymous with money, where people suffer from malnutrition and slow death by starvation". Unemployment and poverty stare them in the face. Corruption and denial of justice are very common. There is authoritarian oppression in the family and school, in religion and public life. Freedom is curtailed by tradition, custom and outdated laws. The young feel that they were born in an unjust society. Many of them cannot remain silent spectators of this sorry spectacle of degraded humanity". They register their protest against the situation. They have been aroused to a new sense of radical commitment to the creation of a better society. They want to liberate man from the forces of exploitation and oppression. Some find themselves helpless in the

situation and the result is confusion and despair. The new sense of radical commitment, protest, helplessness, confusion and despair are manifested in the words and actions of these young people, and it is said they are in revolt.

Manifestations of the revolt

Revolt manifests itself in different ways in different areas of life. In the family parental authority has suffered considerably. The authoritarianism and interference of parents are challenged. Children demand more freedom for taking decisions and making their choices. They challenge the practice of parents who take decisions for them. They don't like to be questioned or controlled as they were before. Personalism grows and the traditional solidarity of the Indian family weakens day by day.

Religion also is losing its grip on youth. According to revolting youth religion and its institutions either tolerated or defended the existing system of exploitation and oppression and failed to establish love and justice according to its preachings. Some think in terms of breaking away deliberately from the tenets of the reactionary institutions like religion since religion is neither meaningful nor relevant to them. Only a small minority among revolting youth think in terms of a reformation and of making religion an instrument of social justice.

New ideas are finding respectability and acceptability in the realm of morality too. Young people have started openly advocating premarital sex and even free love. Extra-marital sex also is favoured by some. At least a few young people have shown enough courage to admit that they practise free love.

More and more young people are actively participating in politics and other public activities. Many expected that with the entry of more young people into politics there would be an improvement but, in fact, the situation has worsened. Selfishness, corruption and favouritism are only increasing. It is true that recently more and more young people have captured positions of power in political parties and governments. It is also true that the slogans and declarations of political parties and their youth and student wings are becoming more and more radical and

forceful. But politics, for the young, is becoming a profession and a source of income despite the slogans of service and all that.

Discipline in life has become a forgotten virtue. The educational institutions have become cradles of third-rate party politics and factional fight. The main training that takes place in some institutions is in stone-throwing, mass-wrestling, hitting and beating, guerilla attacks and so on. A small minority of trouble-makers rule the destiny of the vast majority of students. Some are indifferent, a few object but do not resist because they are not organized. Student strikes and student clashes are very common. The educational institutions are forced to close on many days a year. Many students show no interest in study. Strikes are organized for postponing examinations. In the examination-hall many want to copy and when it is pointed out that copying is against the rules they shout slogans and walk out after tearing up the answer books! There are reports of physical assault on teachers who detect malpractices. If somebody hits a student for molesting the sister of another, there is every possibility of a state-wide student agitation to protest against the assault on a comrade. Reports show that the number of young people involved in criminal offences is increasing every year. In addition to alcohol and smoking, drugs too have found their place in the life of the young. Laziness has become almost a part of the national character. Minimum effort and maximum benefit - or, minimum work and maximum pay - has become the unshouted slogan. Quite often there are paralysing strikes, and essential development work in the country is interrupted. Even the revolting youth who are dissatisfied with the economic situation in the country are instruments in the creation of this situation. The Naxalite movement which has become world-famous is a manifestation of the revolt of youth.

Another of a positive and constructive kind is the work of a considerable number of young people, especially students, through the various service-oriented non-political youth or student organizations and movements. Many of them are convinced of the need for change in society and are trying to bring it about. They perhaps study problems, create public opinion, participate in social work camps and other social service schemes, in leadership training, in work in the slums etc. Some of them take up specific issues in a particular locality and fight injustice. But this

direct action for justice is only in the initial stage. The various Christian student youth organizations in Kerala, the two Balajanasakhyams, the National Service Scheme, Social Service Leagues in the educational institutions etc. have to be mentioned in this connection. Though these organizations are not working very well always and in all places, it should be admitted that a good number of young people have displayed through them, a deep sense of commitment to the creation of a better society. At the same time certain much-published service schemes of the semi-political student organizations are mere political stunts. Examples are programmes like "At onam one bushel of rice" and "Manual work with study." These are electioneering contrivances rather than the expression of commitment to a better society.

Certain young people with a strong ideological orientation are working in various parts of the country as small radical action groups. Though they are not centrally organized and are not homogeneous in nature and action, they try to bring about changes in society. It is claimed that an objective study of the local situation, identification with the local people, knowing the people and getting themselves known by the people by living with them, and joining hands with them to solve their problems or to fight injustice are their mode of working. Some young graduates try to share the life of peasants and workers in rural areas. It is quite possible that more and more such action groups will come into existence and pave the way for radical changes provided they also practise what they preach.

It may be good to remember in this context that there are some old people also who are in revolt as a result of their dissatisfaction with the present social order and of radical commitment to the creation of a better society.

Who is in revolt ?

A growing awareness of social justice and a concern for the poor and the oppressed are visible in a large section of Indian youth. The young are dissatisfied with the present situation, and we observe their protest, helplessness and despair; their commitment to the creation of a better society. This is true of only about 70% of youth, but there is often a tendency to generalize. The rest are indifferent and do not bother about what

happens around them. They simply accept whatever comes their way. They never complain, protest or demand, in the family or in the school, in religious, social and political activities and even in their professions.

Out of the 70% 45% do not show it outwardly. They observe and study the situation and are aware of the problems. In their heart of hearts there is awareness in favour of social justice. There is concern for the poor and the oppressed; there is dissatisfaction about the present situation. But they do not have the courage to speak out and stand for justice. They are afraid of losing or risking their privileges and benefits. Hence, in spite of their initial dissatisfaction they come to adjust themselves to the system and accept it. These conformists also cannot be actually counted among youth in revolt.

The remaining 25% are not only aware, concerned and dissatisfied but openly protest against the unjust system. Their despair, dissatisfaction and protest manifest themselves in their speeches and other activities. The protest, as we have seen, is manifested in both a positive and a negative manner. These young people constituting one-fourth of the total number are usually known as youth in revolt.

The sad fact is that only one-fifth of the revolting youth, have a real commitment to the creation of a better society. The others are mere propagandists or opportunists. They have found that there is a good market for speaking against the existing, unjust and oppressive social order and other structures and they do it constantly in high-sounding words. It has become the fashion of the day and by doing it one is sure to get attention and publicity and also the label of being a radical. By speaking so one loses nothing but gains attention and publicity and consequently positions of power. Hence these persons speak about radical changes and revolution but do not lift a little finger or make the slightest sacrifice to bring about a minimum change in the society. They speak against selfishness but their sole aim is personal gain. In spite of their sermons about a new better society and a revolution, they actually seek their own fortunes and try to perpetuate the unjust system. Some of these self-styled revolutionaries become suddenly silent if they get into positions of power or become beneficiaries of the present system. They are found in

political, social and religious fields. There is a feeling at least in some of them that the situation is so bad that no one can save our society and that the best thing is to take the maximum benefit out of the situation. This may be a manifestation of their despair and helplessness.

These propagandists and opportunists have assumed the monopoly of all radical thinking and revolutionary activities. The public also often look on them as the real revolutionaries. This is a tragedy for the cause of revolution.

Only 5% of our youth have a real commitment to the creation of a better society. They are in two camps. One thinks in terms of demolishing all the existing systems and structures and shaping a new just society. The young people here are prepared to pay even the highest price, time, energy, money, a bright future and if necessary even life. They are impatient at the slow pace of change. They do not make propaganda or seek cheap publicity. They believe in silently working from the grass-root level for a revolution. We do not see or hear about many of them, but they have a definite goal, a concrete form of action and a hundred per cent commitment. In the other camp are those who think that complete destruction of the existing system, all on a sudden, will not help the creation of a better society. On the contrary there will be confusion and a worse system may emerge. They think that the people in India are not prepared for any drastic, extreme form of action and that they prefer systematic and steady change. Hence they believe in reforming the system from within. They are often branded conservative inspite of their earnest and persistent efforts to create a better society. They work in a very unfavourable situation because neither the protectors nor the opponents of the existing system support them or at least sympathize with them. Like the first group, these young people also have a definite goal, a concrete form of action and a complete commitment, but they too are very few.

Which of the two forms of action is better? Time has to prove that. Both agree on the goal: the liberation of man and the creation of a better society. They disagree only on how liberation is to be achieved.

An Explanatory Approach

Normative vs the positive approach

There is a strong tendency on the part of many to view 'Youth in Revolt' as a *behavioural problem*. This tendency assumes the existence of a 'norm' or 'standard' explicitly or implicitly accepted as an ideal model, and it results in an unconscious constant comparison which invariably contaminates our judgements and opinions. There cannot be a 'problem' unless the individual who makes the judgement perceives the difference between 'what is' and 'what should be'. This evaluative, normative approach often misleads one to a state of mental confusion and makes the 'issue' a live one for a long period without any planned effort to understand the nature, complexity and causes of the phenomenon. Viewing 'youth in revolt' as a *behavioural phenomenon*, on the other hand, demands a positive, explanatory approach with emphasis on description, classification, analysis and finally explanation in terms of a cause-effect relationship. Such an approach of the social scientists in contrast to the evaluative-normative approach of the laymen and social leaders, will provide much information on an action programme for the solution of the problem, if the phenomenon is really a 'problem' in a social context. This paper tries to point out some of the psychological and social factors or conditions that are causative to the behavioural phenomenon called 'revolt' of a particular age-group: 'youth'.

Classification and clarifications

The common-sense, but narrow meaning of the term 'revolt' refers to the act of political or social upheaval by the mass or a group of people directed against the authorities or custodians of the establishment. Such a revolt may be abortive or fruitful: abortive, if the existing system continued without any change; fruitful, if it results in a change in the system and thus eliminates or reduces the degree of dissatisfaction of the revolting group. Expressions of revolt may take the shape of aggressive

activity such as unrest, indiscipline, agitation, upsurge, demonstration, strikes, picketing, protest marches, destruction of public or private property and so on. Expression of revolt could also take the shape of complete apathy and indifference: passive resistance, hippyism, bizarre religious cults, nudism, drug addiction, epicurism. These are also, in a sense, repudiation of the social order and moral values. Revolt in its broad spectrum may thus range from an extreme passivism to a violent activism. The cultural setting and the personality of the participants determine the form of expression of revolt.

Classification of the behavioural expression of revolt is only a part of the phenomenon. Further classification in terms of objectives and the time factor is relevant in understanding the complexity and the causes. Many revolts are based purely on *ad hoc* issues: to object, to repudiate and to destroy the blocks rather than to construct a new system and order. Elimination of dissatisfaction or reducing the degree of it may not necessarily provide satisfaction, unless vision and ideologies for the construction of a new political, social and economic order, after the destruction of the old system, are integral to the minds of the revolting members. A group devoted to an ideology and a plan of action, has always a blue-print for revolt, well-integrated and planned from a long-range point of view. The plans are well-directed at the right place and right moment. The revolting persons are more concerned with the consequences of their actions than with a mere venting of their feeling of disgust and dissatisfaction.

Revolt is not a prerogative or privilege of youth. However, youth are often in the vanguard of revolt against the authorities to the extent of creating a false impression that all young people are of the revolting type, and that revolt is always organised by this age group. The English adage "Any one under twenty who is not a radical does not have a heart; any one above forty who still is one does not have a head", is a popular expression of the belief that youth is more prone to be radical and to revolt. Are there certain special characteristics in youth that predispose it to be radical? Age *per se* cannot be an explanation. There is something more: the physical and mental make-up of this age-group makes it conducive to the expression of revolt-behaviour.

Youth may be defined as the age-group of fifteen to twenty-five: later adolescence and early adulthood. It is a transitional stage, with the disadvantages of both. The young man is at the zenith of his physical vigour and intellectual growth. Further development of the individual after twenty-five is not growth or maturity but only a further refinement and adjustment. The physical vigour, disposition to involvement in adventure and risk, the ambivalent attitude towards parental and adult authority (i.e. the desire to get support from elders and at the same time to be independent), absence of clear-cut responsibilities and social roles etc. create the ripe condition for rejection of adult-authority, especially if one is not accepted by elders as an independent adult. However, these special conditions by themselves are not a complete explanation. It is enough to say that the special developmental factors of this age-group contribute much to creating a disposition to repudiate the 'establishment' created by adults. But to isolate the causes from the observed 'effect' one has to make further classifications of all youth in terms of (a) sex (b) education (c) socio-economic background (d) the nature of parental authority at different stages (e) status and position in the peer group (f) the role and responsibilities of the family, the community etc., and then to collect empirical data on the involvement of these sub-groups in revolts and their expansions. It is a common observation that young men who are given responsible roles e.g. as employees, are less likely to exhibit violent expressions of revolt, especially if the family depends on them and they are security-oriented for a better life. Description, classification and analysis on these lines would dispel the idea that 'youth' as a developmental stage *per se* is the cause, but conditions — physical, psychological and social — conducive to the expression of revolt behaviour are present among youth in general and among certain sub-groups in particular, depending on the outlet and form provided by the total context. Behaviour, conceived as an end-result or consequence rather than a cause, depends on certain factors in the individual and certain factors in the environment, and in subsequent interaction of these two forces. B-F (I a,b,c, E l,m,n,) wherein a,b,c refer to the factors in the individual and l,m,n to the factors in the environment. An exploration of these con-

ditions in both the individual and his environment and the subsequent relationship between the two, is a pre-requisite for drawing realistic conclusions on the 'cause-effect' relationship.

Certain tentative statements or hypotheses are listed below as possible explanations. Acceptance or rejection of these statements, of course, depend on data-based studies.

Motivational and emotional factors

1. The physical and mental energies of an individual will be directed towards a particular object only if the individual identifies and perceives the relevance of the goal (object) to his felt needs.
2. Imposition of a goal by authority (force, power or influence) without regard for the voluntary acceptance and commitments of the individual concerned, leads to resistance and rejection of the goal itself, or results in a low level of performance.
3. Unattainability or feeling of unattainability of a goal towards which one is striving, creates a feeling of frustration: a feeling that results in lack of interest and enthusiasm in present endeavours. A feeling of failure in such contexts may also lead to displacement of energies in other directions desirable or undesirable, according to the norms of the society. This displacement may take the form of aggressive behaviour (activism) or a regressive kind (apathy, withdrawal etc.)
4. The basic survival and protection needs of an individual make him amenable to direction and control by another person or by external agencies. However, once these basic needs are satisfied, external direction and control become a difficult task. Survival (physiological) and protection (safety and security) needs of present day youth are satisfied by their background: family, age, policy of the authorities etc. Present-day youth are motivated by social and egoistic needs rather than deprivation, threat and punishment.
5. The might of numbers of a crowd or association infuses courage and strength in a frustrated helpless weak individual. His anonymity in the crowd coupled with the feeling that many

are there to share the penalty, even if he is spotted gives him an added vigour to imitate others and to inhibit his normal reasoning in the weight of the emotion of the crowd.

6. Occasional outbursts on some relevant or irrelevant issue in a form organized by a few, enable the individual to release his tensions and feelings of frustration.

Conditioning (learning) factors

1. Any form of reward (recognition, status, prestige, power, influence, advancement etc.) or success in the attainment of the immediate purpose, acts as a reinforcement to such behaviour. The wooing of students by political parties or by the government for the achievement of their objectives indirectly results in reinforcing the activities of the students in that direction.

2. A climate of dissent or revolt as a fashion adopted by a group, especially a reference group, approved by the larger society or the climate of 'might is right' provides an added reinforcing effect in the exhibition of these activities.

Cosmological factors (assumptions, perception, expectation, belief, values etc.)

1. Perception of the reality, if different from the 'ideal'—what one is taught in the family, at school and at college as the 'right' approach and values — leads to the repudiation or rejection of the reality or the weakening of one's own values and norms in an effort at readjustment to the reality of the situation. Youth tries to protest against the reality whereas the adult — the same person after a certain stage — tries to readjust and adapt to the requirements. The adult is more security-oriented and hence adopts a submissive position. The young man expresses his anger and dissent when he experiences a wide gap between his expectations and the reality of the situation.

2. The so-called 'generation gap' is a function of the dynamic nature of society. The norms, values and outlooks of present-day youth are significantly different from those of the older generation, primarily because of scientific, technological, social, economic and political changes. The generation gap in itself does not create any problem. However, attempts on the

part of adults to impose their values, norms and outlooks, on the younger generation, and their tendency to evaluate everything in terms of their own frame of reference often lead to conflicts.

3. The assumption of adults that youth is not matured enough to take up responsibilities and that of the young man that he is more an adult than a child, make him rebel against the authority of adults.

4. Role expectations and role differentiation of a young man if he is not employed, are not very clear and specific. His responsibilities are confined to himself, not extended to other members of his family or to society at large. Even if he is given a certain amount of responsibility, it often becomes meaningless unless he is also given adequate authority to discharge his functions and is made accountable to a higher authority.

Personal factors (Family background and personality make-up of those individuals who take the lead in expressing dissent or 'revolt')

1. It is always a minority who take the lead in expressing the dissent or revolt of the majority. The majority accept them as leaders if their psychological condition creates a disposition for the acceptance of their suggestions and initiative.

2. The socio-economic status, family structure and personality make-up of leaders are quite distinct from those of the vast majority of followers.

Data based studies on leaders reveal a remarkably consistent profile of their personal and background characteristics. They belong to the middle or the upper middle class. Their parents are either democratic in their approach or extremely authoritarian to the extent of making their children rebellious or inhibited and submissive. The child who is a rebel is intelligent and intellectually oriented rather than 'career' oriented. He feels independent of most sources of social authority and influence.

The family drama during the earlier periods of life, and the child-rearing practices adopted by the parents, are the major forces that mould the personality pattern of an individual. If

the child has experienced warmth and affection from his parents, and the parents have a democratic approach to his development he invariably adopts leadership of a democratic style with emphasis on constructive objectives, not dissent, objection and revolt, but achievement of something new: creation of a new system etc.; change not for the sake of change but for something new for the benefit of future generations. On the other hand, if the child has been neglected or if his father is an extreme authoritarian resistance and rebellion against authority becomes an integral part of his personality. If such a child becomes a leader in due course, his leadership style would be more on the dissent-revolt side, on *ad hoc* issues, rather than on constructive long-range plans to build up something new.

Conclusion

The role of scientists is to generate bias-free information for the understanding, description, classification, analysis and finally explanation, of the phenomenon discussed here. Social scientists often deal with certain live issues or 'problems'. However they should not be partisans. Even a 'problem' is to be studied as a phenomenon which generates bias-free information and this dispassionate positive and explanatory approach will help authorities and social agencies to solve their 'problem' in a realistic frame work. It is easy to draw 'logical' deductions from a wrong premise and thus go wrong on the whole. The social scientist's main role is to provide an empirically proved right premise on which realistic action programmes can be built for the solution of problems, if one is concerned with them.

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Educational Factors

The revolt of youth in India – its poor quality

When confronted with the problems of the revolt of youth our ministers and vice-chancellors console us by saying that this phenomenon is not peculiar to India but is global in character. They try to cheer us up by citing the examples of campus revolts in America and Europe. This type of facile justification is not very helpful. One is inclined to say that the affluent societies in Europe and America can afford the excitement and spree of some violence and lawlessness, but what about India, with 70 per cent of her population below the poverty line?¹ Think of the multitude of serious problems the country is facing: unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition, lack of clothing, housing etc. Add to them the lawlessness and chaos created by the communal, racial and linguistic problems which have been the curse of the country ever since the attainment of freedom. When the country is badly in need of discipline and hard work more lawlessness and indiscipline can only aggravate the misery of the poor.

What are the issues on which students here revolt? Do they fight for academic excellence and greater participation in education? To what extent are they committed to fighting for social justice and social transformation? Mr V. V. John advisor to the Delhi University, in an article published recently, says: "In my considerable experience of student unrest (in India) I have not had a single instance of youth revolt against social injustice, political corruption or the inadequacies of academic programmes."² Then he quotes the education minister who made the following statement. "Between June and November this year

1. For statistics regarding India's poverty see 'Goals of Development in India' by Prof. C. T. Kurien, in *Religion and Society*, September, 1972.
2. 'Higher Education in the Seventies' by V. V. John in *New Frontiers in Education*, April, 1973. p. 2.

(1972) there were 4136 incidents of student trouble reported. Of them, 1395 related to regional and communal issues. 258 incidents related to efforts to get failed students promoted. In one of the universities of Uttar Pradesh, there was a strike to press the demand for an extra five percent grace marks in the examination of the year in view of the silver jubilee of India's independence." All this may sound incredibly silly or trivial on the part of university youth in the seventies.

Can this kind of agitation usher in a better society? Or will this only add to the chaos and the turmoil in which the country is engulfed today. Personally, I feel that we should be more concerned about the quality of the revolt than about the revolt itself. The revolt can even be a blessing in a country like India where radical socio-economic and educational changes are a pre-requisite for survival and progress. As it is, only the youth of the country has the potential to awaken the country from its lethargy. As has been rightly pointed out by Mr V. V. John, "the wisest way to deal with youthful rebellion is to teach the young to rebel the right way..... Most of the turmoil that educational institutions have had to reckon with in recent times, involved the complete elimination, from young minds, of reason and of compassion. And yet, if these high qualities had been developed and promoted by the process of education there would have been revolt of a different order"³. Such a revolt can come only through students who are morally and intellectually committed.

Basic factors

If we can set aside the superficial and trivial manifestations of student revolt in India we shall be able to discover a few basic factors for the present phenomenon. They are:

1. The unsatisfactory conditions of our universities and colleges.
2. The universal trend, all over the world, to revolt against the existing bourgeois society.
3. The prospect of unemployment because the sort of education that obtains in India does not equip students for fruitful occupations. To this may be added the extremely unsatisfactory economic conditions of the students themselves.

3. Ibid p. 3.

4. The tradition of agitational activities to which the students became accustomed before freedom continues unabated.
5. The exploitation of student power by political parties, communal groups, language fanatics and other vested interests to gain their particular or immediate goals.
6. The absence of any systematic effort to canalize their energies and leisure into constructive activities and divert their attention from trivial agitations.

Educational factors

As regards the educational factors which contribute to the present revolt, these are very often intertwined with, or at least coloured by, a multitude of other factors, for example, socio-economic and political considerations. The following are responsible not only for the revolt but also for its poor quality. They also constitute the serious defects of our educational system.

1. The absence of clear goals: Our educational system has no well-determined goals. We do not have even a philosophy of education worth the name. In developed countries such as the U. S. and Russia education at its various stages has certain pre-determined goals. It becomes possible to evaluate it at each stage and to apply suitable remedial measures. But in India nobody is bothered about evaluating our schools and colleges on the basis of certain objective criteria. National development which has been high-lighted by education commissions still remains a slogan. No serious attempt is being made to relate it to the process of education.

2. Not value oriented: Related to the above is the fact that our education is not value oriented. A meaningful education must aim at inculcating in the students certain values, moral, social, civic, occupational etc. In his educational experiments in South Africa Mahatma Gandhi was very much concerned about the cultivation of virtues such as courage, non-violence, honesty, perseverance, will power, a sense of responsibility, fearlessness, devotion to work and the like.

In these times of tension youth should be imbued with values such as love, a concern for others, the spirit of sharing,

honesty, the spirit of freedom, responsibility, creativity, sensitivity, intellectual curiosity, efficiency, discipline, courtesy, tolerance, equality of opportunity and aesthetics. The Kothari Commission was fully aware of this need when it wrote that "it has become necessary and urgent to adopt active measures to give a value-orientation to education".⁴ It is regrettable that no serious action has been taken so far to implement the various recommendations made by the Commission in this regard. In the absence of a value-oriented education how can we expect our students to fight for noble goals and ideals in life?

3 The irrelevance of education to present needs: We have in India, even after twenty five years of independence, a type of education that was evolved more than a century ago by the British for the needs of their colonial administration. This is totally inadequate to the needs and aspirations of modern India.

The graduates and post-graduates who come out of our colleges and universities are alienated from the common people, and this brings about problems of exclusiveness, individualism and elitism. Most of our educational institutions continue to foster in the minds of our youth concepts of citizenship and values that are traditional and conservative rather than critical, analytical and progressive. Instead of working for the liberation of the oppressed and the underprivileged in the country, the students themselves, by their anti-social activities, become part of the structures that accelerate cultural alienation and injustice. And when they come out of the universities and colleges will they have the moral and intellectual commitment to serve the people? Experience shows they are committed, first and foremost, to serving themselves.

As regards the courses of instruction, it is a shame that we have in our universities, colleges and secondary schools even today the same courses that were offered some fifty years ago, when education was meant only for an elite who would either

become teachers or civil servants. This type of general education is quite irrelevant in the India of today. Today our education should be such that the vast majority of our students are equipped for productive enterprises and self-employment instead of becoming bureaucrats.

4. Oppressive and dehumanizing: Another important factor, perhaps the crucial one, responsible for the poor quality of our education as well as the baseness of our student revolt is the primitiveness of our method of education. In our class-rooms there is very little scope for creative thinking, discussion, reflection and action. The students have a positive dislike for the class-room because of the atmosphere of unfreedom prevailing there. They feel 'free' when they are not engaged.

Ours is a system which turns the students into containers or receptacles to be filled with knowledge by the teacher. Paulo Freire makes an excellent analysis of this type of education in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Many of the characteristics which he identifies with a dehumanizing system of education are to be found in Indian schools and colleges. Ours is essentially, as Paulo Freire would call it, a 'banking education', the author's phrase for a process in which education becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. This type of education is dehumanizing. It anesthetizes and inhibits creative power. It is paternalistic and oppressive and is suited only to the needs of a colonial administration or the requirements of a feudal and traditional society. This type of education is fast disappearing or has already disappeared from most of the countries in the world, developed or developing. But in India it still lingers, and there are no signs of its disappearance in the near future.

If we are really forward-looking we have to change some of our older concepts of education. Education today is to be seen as part of the cultural action for liberation and as an instrument of social transformation, national development and the liberation of human beings.

Once we accept this new concept, priority must be given to the establishment of a new relationship between the teacher and the taught. The new relationship should be one of partnership. The teacher must be imbued with a profound trust in men and their creative power and his efforts must coincide with those of the students in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization.

Under the present system it is not the students alone who are unhappy. The teachers too experience a sense of alienation and frustration. Most of them are not paternalistic or oppressive by choice. The truth is that they have not yet been initiated into new concepts of education and as such they cannot be blamed if they do not see it as a process of humanization and liberation. Whoever is to blame, there is a great deal of discontent on both sides, and colossal wastage in the name of education.

It seems that the education commission was quite aware of the inadequacies and contradictions in the present system of education when it said: "It is evident that the present system of education designed to meet the needs of an imperial administration within the limitations set by a feudal and traditional society, will need radical changes if it is to meet the purpose of modernizing democratic and socialist society changes in objectives, in content, in teaching methods, in programmes, in the size and composition of the student body, in the selection and professional preparation of teachers, and in organisation. In fact what is needed is a revolution in education which in turn will set in motion the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution."⁶

The danger of one-sided participation: Yet another important cause of student revolt is the initiation of students into one-sided participation. In many colleges and even in schools students are given participation in the management of activities such as sports, games and welfare services. College unions and student parliaments also have been started. Students are now demanding full participation in decision-making at all levels. Student participation has been generally

accepted in all the advanced countries. The U. G. C. also has recognized the need for reasoned and responsible student participation in the affairs of the University. So far, in India, only Kerala and Bombay have taken the initiative. The principle behind full participation is the concept of democracy in education. According to it, each functional group of the university or college community, i. e. administration, staff and students, must actively share the responsibility for the effective functioning of college life in all aspects. Each group, in its own specific way, must contribute to the formulation of policies and their implementation in regard to the whole college life.

It goes without saying that for effective implementation a certain amount of preparatory work is needed. It is also necessary to evolve certain guidelines and suitable machinery to train the students to take up this responsibility.

Other factors

To my mind these seem to be the basic educational factors of the revolt of youth. But the following also have had their share in bringing about discontent and revolt:

1. Many of the students who come to the university do not possess the necessary abilities. There is no provision of remedial help for such students. There are others who do not have the aptitude for the course they have chosen. All are given the same type of instruction. The result is discontent on all sides. The fast learners experience boredom because the instruction offers them no challenge. The slow learners feel frustrated because they cannot catch up with the class.
2. **Teachers:** A lot of trouble is caused on account of the failure of the teacher to understand modern youth. Democratization of education is unpalatable to them. They too become frustrated when they fail to impose discipline either by paternalistic or oppressive attitudes. It is a big handicap that there is no provision for university teachers to get the required pedagogical formation. Since examination results are the only criterion of success the majority of teachers are interested in nothing but coaching.

3. **Leadership:** Many of the unfortunate incidents in our university and college campuses may be attributed to the lack of imagination and the bureaucratic approach of our principals and heads of universities. It is too much to expect from the youth of today the reverence and implicit obedience of the *gurukula* days.

4. **Text-books:** Well written and nicely got up text-books can have a wholesome effect on the minds of the students. But such books are becoming rare, if not extinct. Text-books are being replaced by guides. Publishers are careful to produce books which contain only the bare minimum.

5. **Examination system:** A lot of frustration is caused on account of the farce that is called the university examination which is supposed to measure a student's worth. The entire process of education seems to be examination-centred. It is a stumbling-block of humanizing education. Examination reform must be given top priority for the effectiveness of others that are sorely needed.

6. **Lack of facilities:** Many of our new colleges (state-owned and privately-owned) are lacking in facilities. Class-rooms are crowded. Libraries and laboratories are ill-equipped. At times there are not enough teachers to teach. Some of our colleges cannot be called institutions of higher learning. They are often centres of clashes and gross indiscipline.

Similarly there are many colleges which do not cater to the physical, moral and aesthetic needs of students. Only nominal attention is paid to sports, games, the N.C.C. and service facilities such as the N. S. S. Disregard shown in these fields may result in the dissipation of youth power over trivial issues.

Conclusion

The Kothari Commission had warned that "no reform is more important or more urgent than to transform education, to endeavour to relate it to the life needs and aspirations of the people, and thereby make it a powerful instrument of socio-

economic and cultural transformation'.⁷ But this warning has fallen on deaf ears. Instead of progress there is a steady deterioration in standards. Naturally this leads to more discontent and revolt on the part of students. It is difficult to predict whether the revolt will lead to further chaos and misery or whether it will bring about radical socio-economic changes and the humanization of education itself. Much will depend on our willingness to collaborate with youth and our readiness to teach it to revolt in the right way.

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Socio-Cultural and Political Factors

The scope of this paper is limited to two sections of youth: college students and young writers. They are by no means representative of young India but they are very articulate and very influential.

Are there signs of revolt among them? To revolt means to cast off allegiance to authority and to rise in rebellion against it or at least to turn in loathing from the existing order or values. Do we find among the educated youth of the day a discontent with the values and order of society, a strong feeling of revulsion against social and cultural norms, an attitude of moral protest strong enough to shake their conformism to the establishment and to make them seek an adequate substitute? Irrespective of how old they are the people of India are indignant that our problems are getting worse as we are getting older

7. Ibid. p. 6

freedom and democracy. The poverty, the corruption, the disorder, the endless political squabbles, the empty promises of politicians, have made young and old equally sad and cynical. But sadness and cynicism are not signs of revolt; even a weary impatience is not. Moral Indignation is only one factor in revolt. By itself it cannot inspire or sustain the many strong forces, a complex of which lead to revolt.

Significant behavioural patterns of youth today

Young people today, especially students in colleges, have scant respect for their elders or the power they wield. From disobedience to teacher or principal to battles with the police, their flouting of authority covers a wide spectrum of expression.

Some of the sophisticated adopt the ways of the permissive societies of the West. Addiction to drink and drugs, and sexual laxity are signs of this permissiveness. Striking outfits and outlandish hair-styles are perhaps mild indications of the deviation from the norms of the older people.

The young writers of the day—those who consider themselves modern and progressive—express in no uncertain terms their contempt for the values of the existing social order. Most of them are not fascinated by the values of the communist state either. They are very much like their counterparts in the West. The rough and perplexing style of these writers, the jagged pain that life means to them, the loss of identity that tragically baffles them, their angry contempt for the values and standards of existence, their almost cynical stress on the animal characteristics of man, the malodorous nastiness, the raw crudeness, that they play up with the intention of stripping civilized man of all his pretensions—these are common to western literature and a considerable section of Indian writing.

Are the factors mentioned above symptomatic of 'youth in revolt'?

In very recent literature—which as yet reaches only a small minority—there is a fierce honesty which gives us the reassuring feeling that the intelligence and sensitiveness of the young have not been crowded out by slogans and catch words.

The young writer refuses to repeat the stock phrases of yesterday. This can be taken to be a sign of revolt, or better still of growth. There is hope in this.

The moral laxity of urban youth can add to the pace of social disintegration, but it does not seem to have any positive rebelliousness.

The flouting of authority seen in the student community throughout India is a serious sign, not of revolt but of disintegration. Disobedience, defiance and organized violence are tendencies that can be used in the service of a social revolution provided there is imaginative leadership and a positive ideology directing and controlling them. Even then lawlessness and organized violence are weapons too dangerous to be used. But in India today, with the exciting game of power politics being played by every party and every leader, the moral attitudes of leaders as well as followers are so flippant and cynical that lawlessness among students is nothing more than a condition created by interested parties to exploit the power potential of the student community. Of course the inefficacy of the educational system has added considerably to the bleakness of the situation. But political leaders are mainly to blame for giving the students continuous training in despising their studies, disregarding their institutions and identifying themselves with their consolidated shouting power. Students today are aware of their power to influence or even to harass politicians and other elder members of society, but they are not aware of what is happening to themselves. They are not inspired by any definite ideas or ideologies, nor are they impelled towards any definite goal. They flounder where the whole nation flounders. They have not so far shown any positive sign that they are emerging on firmer ground. Their lawlessness and their frequent skirmishes with the police merely show that they have nothing to fear. When a basic protective instinct like fear does not function it is symptomatic of disintegration whether at the level of the organism or of the social group. Lack of fear is not the same as courage.

The political reasons for this disintegration

1. One is the disappearance of a non-political, public-spirited middle class. In an illiterate democracy, where numbers are

all in all, the economically comfortable, numerically insignificant, educationally advanced middle-class becomes a mere helpless onlooker. There is as yet nobody to perform the functions that they used to earlier in the century.

2. Another is the partisan nature of the newspapers. Their mass-appeal is not put to the service of any long-term national goal. They are more interested in the power-game than in acting as correctives to it.

3. Higher education is considered a democratic right and the intellectually incompetent crowd into colleges. Many political parties fight for this right.

4. Education has become more or less a state monopoly. Private colleges insist only on fringe liberties after sacrificing the substance of education to the ideal of standardization. Unless standardization gives way to experiment and variety, and state control to private initiative, the intimate connection between power politics and democracy will go on vitiating education and incapacitating and corrupting the young. Ultimately it will lead to an iron dictatorship.

5. There is the emergence of the student politician into the limelight. Yesterday he counted only within his college, but today he is becoming a public figure, courted by senior politicians, groomed for political office, interviewed by the press and respected by the bureaucracy. Naturally he is more a professional politician than a student and creates situations to ensure his leadership and his party's influence. He is little bothered by the price that the other students have to pay for all this.

6. There are other obvious and oft-repeated reasons: the immorality and selfishness of the political parties, their building up of large student organizations as their second front, the sense of power that students gain through political demonstrations, and the clumsiness of the democratic machinery.

Social reasons

1. We have also to consider the abdication of responsibility by elders. In the last twentyfive years there has been no organized effort on the part of teachers or the educated public to deal with the basic problems of education. Educational reforms initiated by the government or the university have been superficial. Nobody is committed to saving the young. The frequent yielding to the demands of the students, the frequent closing down of colleges, the postponement of examinations and the tolerant attitude towards corruption in education are signs that the older people, those responsible for managing things, are confused, evasive, cowardly or just floundering in helplessness. The postponement of decisions, and the avoiding of immediate and serious commitment, are indicative of abdication of responsibility which is the most serious symptom of social disintegration.

2. A young man today has no coherent system of values, goals and expectations and he is not contained in and supported by institutions which not only embody these values and goals but represent a considerable deal of life. He looks for substitutes in gangs, parties, mass movements and demonstrations and gets a temporary feeling of power, of self-discovery, of meaningful existence. Such habits can make him an easy victim of a dictatorship.

3. Young people are disobedient only to mildly wielded parental or academic authority. They are obedient to political parties, ring leaders, pane-heroes and to strongly wielded authority. This attitude can be extremely helpful to the growth of a dictatorship.

4. The humanistic, democratic and socialistic propaganda of the older generations has made the young people today egalitarian and humanistic in a manner sincere and serious. This attitude of theirs can be a powerful solvent to tradition-bound and stratified Indian society. Its political side effects depend on various other factors.

Cultural factors

Educated young people are exposed to many influences today. The exposure to world culture gives the mind a new

elasticity and substantial richness. But without the sustaining strength and guiding light of one's own culture the multiplicity of influences at work confuses the mind and saps its energy. For the last two centuries the dominating influence on Indian life has been that of western technology and western institutions and ideologies. Indian education, a weak imitation of western education, has neglected Indian culture. Indian culture has been unable to compete with a materialistic and scientific culture almost miraculous in its technological attainments. The non-materialistic aspects of Western culture, however stimulating in their impact on the Indian mind, were so alien in their nature that for all their good results they have weakened the Indian mind. Vacillating between two cultures, unconnected with the deepest impulses of either, subjected to an education which does nothing more than impart some information, untrained even in the habits of enquiry, caught within a maze of ideological and political influences the educated people of India have been shrinking in moral and intellectual stature from generation to generation till they have become what they are today—men in whom there are more reflexes than clear thinking and conscious choices.

A society, unless nourished at its deepest roots, disintegrates. Indian society is disintegrating, and the weakening of the structures of old produces situations of anarchical confusion extremely tempting to those who seek power. It is not a simple state of affairs in which a capitalist society is digging its own grave or a medieval society is turning modern. What we see in India is perhaps the last tragic chapter of the story of the West's intrusion into the soul of a foreign people.

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A Philosophical Analysis

Method of approach

There have already come out various studies and analyses of 'youth today' and unrest among them. Alain Touraine has remarked that the most metaphysical stage in the life of man is youth and thereby he implies the kind of approach we should make to this problem. It is commonly agreed that there are economic, social and political factors influencing the revolts of youth today. It is also admitted that in a discussion on youth problems several other factors also count such as industrialization, urbanization, sex, drugs, population-explosion, ultra-modern literature, communication media, pop-culture and hippyism. Is it not possible that these facts and phenomena are symptoms of a serious disease and disorder? One who reflects metaphysically on this problem will logically arrive at such a conclusion.

Today's youth may be responsible for so much nuisance and so many conflicts. Yet we do not deny that they too are men. Hence we should logically admit that they share the trends of modern man. The science that deals with fundamental features and characteristics of modern man is called metaphysical anthropology. Unless we take into account the insights of this important branch of modern philosophy, and the conclusions reached by it we shall not understand modern youth and their attitudes.

The old approaches that viewed the reality of man as a dichotomy of body and soul, nature and spirit, matter and mind, and as unchangeable essence are being gradually discarded. The modern existentialists seem to prefer the term 'state of man' to 'nature of man'. The characteristics of the state of man according to them, are freedom, responsibility, historicity and the like. Today's process-philosophy also arrives at the same conclusions. Process-philosophers, like Whitehead view man as a special event and occurrence in the process of universal evolution instead of

considering him as mere matter or essence. Modern cultural anthropology developed by the researches of Margaret Mead, Kroeber and others has high-lighted the relative and situational aspects of the reality of man.

It is not possible for us to evaluate all the valuable insights of modern anthropology. For the present we shall be content with one or two examples. Today's existentialists say that freedom is one of the most fundamental characteristics of man. Sartre and others have given philosophical expression to this insatiable, unlimited and profound yearning of modern man for freedom. It is true that even in the past man valued freedom. However, from a thorough examination of history it will be clear that the yearning was not so intense, profound or universal as it is now. What we observe in youth today is a partial expression of modern man's thirst for freedom.

Let us take another example which is related to sex. There were instances of sexual excesses and perversions in ancient societies, but they were only exceptions. The importance modern man attaches to sex and the role it plays in his life are quite unprecedented. Freud, Kinsey and Marcuse, through their reflections and researches, have only given clear expression to it. The relationship between authority and freedom, and society and the individual are completely different from what it was in the past. All this points to some important features of human existence today. If we fail to note tendencies which have already been emphasized and highlighted by sociologists, philosophers and literary men, we will not, perhaps, get a deep understanding of the problems of youth today.

Limits and boundaries

It is difficult to specify how far the dictum "try to be what you are" is relevant today. Albert Camus has remarked that man is the only creature who refuses to be what he is. Poets have sung about the desire of a butterfly to reach the star, but this is just imagination. However man's urge to bypass his own limitations and boundaries is undeniable. Let us try to understand man's fundamental urges in relation to his origin. In the Book of Creation (*Genesis*) of the Bible God prohibits Adam and Eve from eating the fruit of two trees in the centre of paradise. The

one is the tree of life which means immortality. We see God dismissing man from the paradise before he eats the fruit of this tree. Who knows if it is not man's ardent yearning for immortality that prompted him to reach out his hand for the fruit of this tree! The second tree was that of the knowledge of good and evil. Gerard Von Rad has pointed out that 'good and evil' means all things. Man has not been given the capacity to know all things, to attain to knowledge of them. God alone is omniscient. The first man tried to rise to this divine state and transcend his existence as a creature. This means he was not struggling to dive deep into the abyss of carnal pleasures or to fall into the depth of moral decadence. He tried only to surpass his own limitations and to be equal to God. His sin was pride. Jean Paul Sartre, though an atheist, has clearly understood this; that is precisely why he has remarked that "to be man means to reach towards being God... Man fundamentally is the desire to be God."

Development of human personality often includes various sorts of encounters and protests. One often has to fight against impersonal social structures, institutions and rules. Over and above this, one may have to oppose other individuals. It often happens that as one proceeds in life one comes in conflict with parents, authorities, teachers and God. Now that man's thirst for freedom and self-sufficiency is getting more and more intense, such conflicts and confrontations are unprecedentedly on the increase. It is evident that such revolts are more common among youth. At this stage of life one is prone to question and protest against everything. This tendency which is so common among youth and increasing day by day may be called denial, or murder, of the father.

Patricide

Erich Neumann says that in all the epics the heroes seem to have a tendency to kill their fathers. Oedipus and others are examples. These heroes represent the growth of human consciousness, and 'father' stands for the moral and cultural laws and heritage of society. As a man grows, he begins to defy and question the laws of his society. Modern depth psychology shows that this tendency is universal in the growth of human personality. All are not necessarily conscious of these reactions which often belong to the sub-conscious level.

Every young man does not kill his father or deny his heritage. Some try to avoid a conflict with the father. Neumann calls their attitude the 'Isac Complex': such will always be the slaves of the past, and of traditional values. Others are interested only in killing their father, i. e. in questioning traditions. They do not try to substitute anything new for the old or assume the responsibilities of a father. Society will hardly profit from either of these two groups.

This reaction towards paternity and paternal values is conspicuous in many of the modern thinkers and writers. Sartre, for instance, says in his autobiography: "There is no good father, that is the rule. Don't lay the blame on men but on the bond of paternity which is rotten. To beget children, nothing better; to have them, what iniquity. Had my father lived... he would have crushed me. I move from shore to shore, alone and hailing those invisible begetters who bestraddle their sons all their life long..." Kafka's writings reflect throughout envy and hatred towards father. Dostoevsky puts on the lips of one of his characters the view that there is absolutely nobody who does not desire or like his father's death. In his book *Dostoevsky and Patricide* Freud has analysed this attitude well. Even Kant once said that parents and teachers are the bitterest of our enemies.

Modern man has come of age or he claims to have. A mature man always wants to be free and self-sufficient. So we need not be surprised at the fact that this thirst for freedom is more common among youth today. Modern youth do not want to obey anybody or to be subject at all. Their hatred and revolt against authority are shown towards values too. An example of this is their tendency to defy traditional moral values, especially those of sex.

The rich meaning of the idea of patricide as a symbol has yet to be fully explored. The father is the supreme symbol of all authority, social, cultural, political and religious. By the term 'patricide' is meant the general denial of all kinds of authority. Psychology tells us that hatred of the father ends in hatred of God. Freud denies God by showing that God is the supreme and ideal form of a father. Thus patricide ends in deicide.

No further discussion is needed to prove that the root causes of the revolt of youth today are the outcome of revolts against traditional values, authority and even God. American sociologists like Parsons and Colman long ago pointed this out. Weiner, a sociologist who made a study of Indian youth, said that the trouble and unrest among young Indians are caused by their blind protest against authority. Here one fact has to be borne in mind: yearning for freedom is natural in any man come of age. Now that humanity is considered to have reached that stage the ardour and intensity of this desire have only increased. Nevertheless it may not be correct to maintain that what lies behind the problems among youth is just a craving for freedom. It is not necessary that our ardent desire for freedom should prompt us to defy all kinds of authority. Therefore, as regards youth today, the root of unrest is hatred of authority - hatred of the father rather than desire for freedom. That is why today's atheism is not mere denial of, but opposition to, God. Neumann's opinion has been mentioned, that there are two kinds of complex in the analysis of patricide. The attitude of those who refuse to deny tradition - paternity - is termed the 'Isac complex', and that of those who blindly oppose and destroy the traditional values and authorities is called the 'eternal son complex' which seems to be the attitude of present day youth. That is precisely the reason why many of today's youth movements do not contain creative elements. Let us call this hatred of the old and the traditional 'resentment'. When a man hates and repels something and at the same time finds himself helpless to remove or destroy it his hatred becomes resentment.

Other factors

So far we have been dealing with the fundamental causes of present day youth unrest. Now there follow a few causes which are not so important.

Aggressiveness is one of the fundamental instincts commonly found in man. Psychologists say this is necessary for the preservation and growth of personality. With suitable training and discipline this can be diverted to creative action. True, this aggressiveness has become excessive in the youth of today. Still, we cannot say that the young make use of this instinct only for evil ends. Their aggressive tendencies play a major role in

the world's labour for the delivery of a new social set-up. Generally speaking so far they have not controlled, disciplined or refined them. The moment this urge is refined and raised to the level of morality it becomes the virtue of force. However they do not get so efficient a training as to rise to it. Consequently their aggressiveness remains violent rather than forcible

In fact, we should sympathize with youth who are reacting against out-dated morals and blind beliefs. They have succeeded, to a great extent, in overthrowing the old moral laws that viewed human sexuality only as a way of procreation. All the same many of them have not grown mature enough to see it as the best way of expressing human love. That is why sexual morality among youth today has fallen into an anarchical state. It is not enough that we retain the ownership of our actions; they should be human and responsible. It is unfortunate that youth cannot introduce these aspects also into their sexual relations. At any rate the awakening of our awareness that there is need for renewal in the field of moral laws regarding love, sexuality, private property and the like, has been a major contribution of the present generation.

Revolutionary movements may often involve illogicalities or inconsistencies. It may be difficult for us and for youth to give logical justification for their revolts. No doubt, to elders and traditionalists, many words and deeds of present-day youth are absurd. But we should keep in mind that today's industrial, technical and scientific civilization contains some abominable absurdities. Compared to them the actions of hippies and drug-addicts are logical to a certain extent. Anyhow, youth would do well to bear in mind the words of Jaspers: "It is only when a man begins to think that he moves forward to humanness."

Another reason for youth unrest is defective socialization. A man develops as a social being through his family, religious associations, educational institutions and the like. Broken families, and schools without discipline, play a negative role in the character-formation of our youth. They foster youth unrest.

Most of today's sociologists qualify present-day youth unrest as deviant behaviour. Among the causes of this behaviour

are lack of religious faith, lack of moral consciousness and defective socialization. Sociologists are of the opinion that deviant behaviour is not altogether to be deplored. As aggressiveness this also can be helpful to social development to a certain extent. Except excessive drinking, murder, theft and the like, several of these deviant forms of behaviour contain creative elements.

Another force active behind today's youth revolts is the thirst for social justice, democracy and peace. The youth revolutions of South America deserve special mention here. Today's youth should be ready to do many more things for the abolition of faulty and obsolete socio-economic structures and for the building of a new social set-up. It remains to be seen how far this hope will be realized.

There is little doubt that the present educational system fosters youth unrest. As long as there are educational institutions that have no meaning, orientation, value, content or usefulness, the unrest among our youth will only go on increasing.

Finally there is a characteristic of today's youth, which one writer calls 'instantism'. Present-day youth want plans to be implemented immediately. Now that socio-economic problems have become very acute, this sense of urgency is quite beneficial. All the same we human beings have to bear in mind that only God's words are capable of instant realization. We have no other go but to allow an interval between man's words and deeds. By being patient we become more human.

Conclusion

Psychologists are agreed that those who 'kill' their fathers have a feeling of guilt. The prodigal son who leaves his loving father and sets out for 'far off countries' with his share of the patrimony will, no doubt, be restless until he returns to his house. No youth should presume that he can enjoy full freedom after having shattered the heritage of human civilization. Our fathers—including our superiors and God—are not our enemies or opponents. The heart of the son who 'murders' his father will be dogged by unrest and a sense of guilt. No young Turk or hippy of today can escape the anxiety caused by guilt-consciousness. What vexes man most is his freedom and the responsibility arising

therefrom. Unbridled race for freedom will only aggravate this anxiety.

All the same, it is high time that those who wield authority and stand for certain values made an examination of conscience. Authority is a certain denser form of being. It's purpose is to serve and enrich others. It may be difficult to rid oneself of selfishness in the exercise of it. But those who wield authority to harm and exploit others should beware of the writing on the wall: "Weighed, but found wanting." Let them not forget that their sceptre will be swept out of their hands and their kingdom will be divided. The philosophical axiom that the birth of children at the death of parents is not unfounded. Parental authority is meant for the growth and welfare of the children. Superiors and holders of values who forget this truth are indeed taking a suicidal stand. They are purposefully fostering and encouraging revolt among the youth of today and none of us can sympathise with or pardon them.

Moovattupuzha

P. T. Chacko

(Translated by James Naduvilekut)

A Christian Reflection on Youth in Revolt

A few years ago I attended a meeting of the Catholic Family Movement. The topic of discussion was the restlessness among present day youth. The parents who had gathered there were really worried about it, and their concern expressed itself in a search for ways to counteract it. Listen better to them, give them greater freedom, form them towards decision-making, etc. I was rather silent during the discussion, but when everyone thought it was time to move on to the next point, I felt compelled to say: "You are so worried about their being restless; I would be worried, if they weren't restless." The parents were surprised, so I explained myself. "Today there is so much wrong in our society, so much inequality, racial and economical, so much discrimination, so much violence, hidden and exposed, so much oppression, personal and structural, that only a blind and insensitive person can sit down in peace. The young are restless because their hope for a better world is undermined time and again. The situation evolves from bad to worse. To go on in the direction set by their forefathers through customs, traditions and laws deprives the majority of youth of a truly human future." I am convinced that youth revolt is healthy; we should be happy when they say: 'We are born into an unjust society, but we are determined not to grow old in it'. This does not mean that we should be happy about all the expressions of revolt, because, more than one article shows that youth revolt in India is, in general, of a poor quality. Trying to suppress or eliminate their desire to change their world in order to shape a better tomorrow is opting for the *status quo* and I do not think that any Christian can be proud of that.

1. Youth and their elders

Erich Bach's beautiful parable *Jonathan Livingstone Seagull* vividly pictures the eagerness of youth to be itself and to launch new ventures which make life more worth living. This is the reaction of parents:

"Why, John, why?" the mother asked. "Why is it so hard to be like the rest of the flock, John? Why can't you leave low flying to the pelicans, the albatross? Why don't you eat? Son, you are bone and feathers."

"I don't mind being bone and feathers, mom, I just want to know what I can do in the air and what I can't, that's all. I just want to know." "See here, Jonathan", said his father, not unkindly. "Winter isn't far away. Boats will be few, and the surface fish will be swimming deep. If you must study, then study food, and how to get it. This flying business is all very well, but you can't eat a glide, you know. Don't you forget that the reason you fly is to eat."¹

Finally Jonathan, the rebel, is thrown out by the Council of the Gull Society. "A seagull never speaks back to the Council flock, but it was Jonathan's voice raised. 'Irresponsibility? My brothers!' he cried. 'Who is more responsible than a gull who finds and follows a meaning, a higher purpose, for life? For a thousand years we have scrabbled after fish-heads, but now we have a reason to live—to learn, to discover, to be free! Give me one chance, let me show you what I've found. The flock might as well have been stone.

"The brotherhood is broken", the gulls intoned together, and with one accord they solemnly closed their ears and turned their backs upon him."²

Erich Bach's parable is to the point. The revolt of present-day youth is deep down an expression of a search for meaning of a higher purpose for life. Life as it is lived in our society is not really worth living. Only by being different from the rest (against the mother), by rejecting the security of food, shelter, clothing as the highest purpose of life (against the father), by standing up against those in power, who are responsible for society as it is now with its oppression, injustice, violence, discrimination, loneliness, etc., can they build a new world. To be involved in this gives meaning to life and they believe that

1. Erich Bach, *Jonathan Livingstone Seagull*, pp. 13-14

2. idem, pp. 39-40.

"no one's death is meaningless if his life has been charged with significance" (Nestor Paz Zamora). But to live according to that belief is awfully hard, and many young people in India hesitate to commit themselves to a radical revolt, because the family and society pressures are too great. They speak revolution during their college years, but most of them become part of the establishment as soon as they have secured their first job and started their married life. College education itself prepares young people more to fit into present-day society than to make it a more just one. Parents, elders and teachers may disagree on many points, but they are of one accord in solemnly closing their ears and turning their backs upon those who really revolt, who refuse to fit in. This closing their ears and turning their backs is an act with a double effect: it forces the majority of youth to accept a situation which is basically unjust and sinful and it compels the minority to find a new future all on their own. While the former will gradually resist radical change as strongly as their elders, the latter will grow more embittered, their revolt against a situation will become a revolt against particular people, whose oppressive role they will imitate as soon as they have come to power. As believers have more than a little to do with the birth of atheism because of their distorted faith, an insufficient knowledge of their faith or their failure to live according to their faith⁵, so the elders and those in power are mainly responsible for the revolt of youth in India and in particular for its gigantic forms and its excessive expressions. Revolt itself in the present-day situation is a Christian task, from which no true follower of Christ can excuse himself.

2. God sides with those in revolt

When Mary responds to Elizabeth's greeting, it is a revolutionary song, which summarizes God's concern in the history of Israel.

"He has shown strength with his arm,
he has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts,

3. Cf. *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 19

he has put down the mighty from their thrones,
and exalted those of low degree;
he has filled the hungry with good things,
and the rich he has sent empty away."⁴

Abraham risked life and his future, when he broke away from his clan. Moses' action for liberation was a revolt against the hierarchy and the social order of Egypt. Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other prophets preached revolt time and again and were often persecuted, because they spoke the Lord's word: a word of revolt and rebellion. Jeremiah narrowly escaped being killed. Again and again we find the prophets pointing at the disorder of society, encouraging the people to rebel against it and to make God's order from this disorder. Our society is certainly not less unjust than that of the Jews. Why does the Church, to whom Christ has entrusted his mission, frown upon young men and women, who revolt against man's disorder and intend to establish God's order? Isn't it because the Church has such vital interest in the *status quo* that it does not want to risk its present security within this? Sometimes one is tempted to ask whose faith is weaker: that of those who think that the future of the Church depends on its friendship with the powerful in this world or that of those who think that it depends on one's obedience to God.

Jesus unambiguously took the side of the weak and the oppressed. God writes his salvation (liberation) history through men and women, Christian and non-Christian. Jesus became flesh to take part in this history. He may not have been a politician, but His revolt against power cut deeper than that of any politician before or after Him. He contributed more to the humanization and the liberation of the world by acting with the meekness of a prophet than He would have done by working with the power of a King, however just and considerate a King He would have been. In Schoonenberg's words: "It is precisely this supremely human way of the defenceless word embodied in whole person, which is stronger than any political power. Now, it is through the conversion of the human heart that Jesus wanted to establish the Kingdom of the Father. This seems to

me the deepest reason why Jesus rejected a political Kingship, however just."⁵

His meeting with the sick, the poor, his comment on the poor widow's contribution, his eating with tax-collectors (collaborators with the enemy) and sinners, his conversation with the Samaritan woman, his defence of the adulterous woman, his teaching regarding the absolute priority of man over against the relative importance of the Sabbath laws, his lashing out against the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and Scribes, his washing the feet of his own disciples, his speaking of authority based on service rather than on power, undermined all the established social, political and religious relationships among men. Thus he proclaimed God's dominion as the liberating force of unconditional love, which he translated into human actions and reactions. His death on the Cross is an unforgettable plea that a murderer should never triumph over an innocent victim. The concrete and tremendous suffering of mankind compels those who believe in Jesus and have experienced the liberating force of his life and death to revolt against the present inhuman and subhuman conditions, situations and structures. Jesus undermined the structures of the society of his time by challenging them in word and action. The social sciences, which did not stand at His disposal, but are at ours have revealed how far human behaviour is determined by complex social structures. We know that love which does not express itself in the commitment to structural change, is not real. Jesus was as much a man of his time as we are. Our faith in his true humanity prevents us from expecting from him a strategy of change relevant for our times. Only by examining the thrust of his actions and words do we discover the task he gives us here and now. He invests his thrust in us. True imitation of Christ is neither an uncritical following of him nor an asking contemporary questions of him (e.g. regarding development or co-responsibility). By unambiguously siding with the poor, the outcastes and the oppressed, by working both for personal conversion and structural change we respond

5. P. Schoonenberg, "The *Kenosis* or Self-emptying of Christ", in: *Concilium*, Vol. I, no. 2 (January 1966), p. 34; cf. Gerwin van Leeuwen o. f. m., "Pastoral Ministry of Liberation", in: *SAP*, no. 8, September 1973.

to his thrust to us, his Church, to put an end to all domination of men by men.⁶

In this context it is worth mentioning the points of similarity which William Salters Sterling sees between the concerns of youth and those found particularly in the prophetic tradition of Jewish and Christian history.

i) The prophets, and among them Jesus Christ, share with the young the same ecumenical vision – life must be worth living for everyone. Indian students, however, often seem to think only of the student world. Aware of their power, they even keep fellow-students, who deserve to be punished, out of the hands of the law.

ii) Both the prophets and youth are fed up with the tremendous injustice and oppression in our world; communication media make us aware of the vastness and the complexity of injustice. In India the injustice stares those in the face who are not incurably blind. One of the greatest failures of the still greatly foreign educational system is that instead of opening the eyes of the blind, it worsens the blindness of many.

iii) Like the leaders of God's liberation history, the young have discovered that God has made us responsible for our world and its future. We decide whether the unjust system into which we were born, will be confirmed or changed.

iv) Like Abraham, those who have seen the oppressiveness of present-day society are willing to risk their certainties to make a better world. Unfortunately only a few actually take the risk, when their student days are over.

v) Christ came to give life to all mankind, "Life in all its fullness."⁷ Young people want to break through the limitations and the drabness of primitive and modern living,

6. Gerwin van Leeuwen, a.c.

7. Jn 9:9; cf. Tit. 3:4-7

anxiously seeking for the true meaning of life. The real meaning of life is not found in study-rooms or laboratories, but in life itself. "Please, allow us to fail", they plead. "Anything is better than what we have now!"

vi) The young have discovered that not any one part of the world can survive alone. The world has grown into a 'global village'; the nations' interdependence is a fact. Unless we break down the spirit of competition and all nations become their "brothers' keepers", the world is rushing towards its own ruin. Natural resources can no longer be anyone's private possession. All the goods of creation are to be shared.⁸

vii) The young share the eschatological vision of the prophets of the Old and New Testament that peace means much more than the absence of war. This awareness implying all the research and energies that go into conventional and unconventional weapons, can no longer be justified. The harm and the incurable suffering that is inflicted by armed conflicts and the ongoing cold war show that the peace of Isaiah's and John's vision has to be established by other means.⁹

I do not say that the revolt of all the young people is conducted precisely with these concerns in mind, but we can hear the Spirit speaking to us through the perhaps often inadequate and justly criticized concrete expressions of it. Often we have to read behind their concrete action, which sometimes do more harm than good. Why are the colleges and universities all over the world hearths of unrest and revolt? Isn't that very fact a judgement on the present world?

3. A shift in theological methodology

Particularly during the last millennium theological reflection used to be done by those who themselves lived in relative security, withdrawn from the tensions of life. They could not but

8. Cf. William Salters Sterling; "The Crisis among the Young", in: *Concilium*, Vol. 9, no. 5 (November 1969), pp. 45-49.

9. Cf. Is. 11: 1-9; Rev. 21: 1-6 and many other passages.

speak the word of those who protected the order of the society in which they had their security. Theological reflection either adjusted itself to the existing order or simply avoided speaking about it. Johannes Metz' observation is very true: because of its relationship to the establishment the Christian community – particularly its leaders and thinkers – “persistently minimized any notion that the future would overturn the religious or political institutions of the day. Consequently the Church has often become a conservative force in society”.¹⁰

The World Congress of Theology on the Future of the Church, in which most of the leading theologians of the world took part, shows a shift of emphasis in theological methodology which is as important as it is faithful to Vatican II's concern for the Church's role in the world of today. Theology is “a reflection of Christians upon their faith and their Christian experience in a particular time and culture. Hence only Christian communities, involved in the life of the contemporary world, and taking active responsibility within their society can fashion the theology of the future”.¹¹ Theology today is only meaningful and significant, when it speaks about the concrete reality in which we find ourselves.

“What we have ahead of us is, I believe, a theological task of the first magnitude. We theologians have not invented it; a generation of young Christians that have taken a place of combat in the conflicts of our history have set it before us. And about which they do not invite us to give them our opinions, but to participate with them in this struggle and to discuss within it our common Christian faith!!”¹²

Jose Bonino wrote this from the Latin-American context and everyone can, of course, question whether this can be applied to

10. Cf. J. B. Metz, *Theology of the World*, pp. 107-137.

11. World Congress of Theology on the Future of the Church, Brussels 1970, Resolution no. 2, quoted by D. S. Amalorpavadass, *Approach, Meaning and Horizon of Evangelization*, p. 17.

12. Jose Miguez Bonino, “New Theological perspectives”, in: *Theology in Action*, Workshop Report, East Asian Christian Conference, Manila, 1972, p. 85.

the Indian situation. Is the revolt of youth in India the *locus theologicus* for theological reflection? My opinion is that it is not so much the revolt of youth in India itself and its expression that form the reality on which we have to reflect, but rather the real causes of this revolt, the tremendous disorder, which deprives the majority among them of a truly human future. Our Christian experience is that the reality in which we live is a disorder which God does not want and which He calls on us to change into His order. A truly Indian theology is a conscientious realization regarding the liberating changes Christ wants *us* to make with all people of good will.

Such a theology will be conspicuously suspicious of theological views which emphasize the spiritual heritage of India *over against* active social involvement, because such an emphasis is not without political implications. By stressing the relativity of political, social and economic involvement and the priority of the spiritual and the vertical, we often actually decide for the continuation of the *status quo*, for keeping those who abuse their power in power. Not so long ago, at a meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, the Orthodox Churches blamed the World Council because the ecumenical movement had lost its spiritual orientation and was living without a truly Christian heart; that the views of the sociologists had swallowed the pursuits of the shepherds by dealing with matters within the sphere of politics (e.g. financial support for the revolutionary movements in Africa, boycott of enterprises with investments in South Africa). Using the same image (without implying that the members of the Churches are sheep) I would like to ask: will any human shepherd ever allow his sheep to go hungry, thirsty, naked, shelterless, lonely or frustrated, without looking for food, water, clothes, shelter, company or hope? Does not Christ, the Good Shepherd, say that those who do not really care, are hirelings?

Caring and loving today means structural involvement. The structures or the set up of our society must be changed in such a way that a human standard of living is within the reach of everyone. This means social and political involvement with all its risks. Anyone who dodges this issue, whatever his pretext, however holy or spiritual the mask he uses, cannot be a follower of the Good Shepherd. It is rather pathetic that in a country

like ours, where so many are going without food and shelter, where so many are facing the future without any hopes or aspirations, those who are fully engaged in social change often have to bear up with suspicion and distrust, as if they were lost for the cause of the Gospel. An examination of the socio-economic background and alliances of those who criticize the socially involved could be very revealing.

All this has a bearing upon the meaning of the word 'salvation', unbiblically spiritualised for such a long time. Let us listen to Gustavo Gutierrez, one of the best spokesmen of the Latin-American liberation theology.

Those who reduce the work of salvation are those who limit it to the strictly 'religious' sphere and are not aware of the universality of the process. It is those who think that the work of Christ touches the social order in which we live only tangentially, and not its roots and basic structure. It is those who in order to protect salvation (or to protect their interest) lift salvation from the midst of history, where men and social classes struggle to liberate themselves from the slavery and oppression to which other men and social classes have subjected them. It is those who refuse to see that the salvation of Christ is a radical liberation from all misery, all alienation. It is those who by trying to 'save' the work of Christ will 'lose' it.¹³

Any valid theology must be a theology regarding God's involvement in present-day history, and hence a theology of change, of evolution or revolution, but definitely a theology of revolt against the *status quo*.

4. Authority and revolt

Obedience to civil and ecclesiastical authorities has always been the central theme of theological reflection. The secularization process, however, has greatly 'affected' the exercise of authority at all levels: from the authority of the Pope down to the authority of the father, the headmaster and the police-

13. G. Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, pp. 177-178.

man. The secular world has no place for people who claim to exercise authority by divine right and it tries to safeguard itself against the abuse of authority by periodical elections and short-term appointments. A secular ruler cannot remain in authority, unless he is a servant of the people or is at least able to present himself as the embodiment of the people's hopes and aspirations, i. e. he must constantly earn his authority by righteous or crooked means. With the exception of godless tyrants theological reflection backed up the authority of those who were in power by birth, the will of the people or the strength of arms. A theology of revolt and civil disobedience rather than obedience has still to be developed; only today we find the beginnings of a theology of revolt in 'political theology', a term coined by Metz, and in the theology of liberation, arising mainly in the South-American continent.

The Church usually created her structures of authority according to those which she found in the secular and religious world around her. However, till very recently she thought that she did not need the normal human safeguards against the abuses of authority because of the divine sanction given to those called to it, with the result that many remained in authority even when they had long ceased to serve the people's hopes, beliefs and aspirations

The structures of authority in the Church and in the world need not be the same. There is a marked difference. Christ indicates it when he reacts against the career oriented apostles:

You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. It shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever be first among you must be your slave; even as the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve and give his life as a ransom to many.¹⁴

It is a pity that there is apparently more 'lording' in the Church than in the free world. This contradicts the whole thrust of the Gospel, and the fact that the Church has neglected the ordinary

14. Mt. 20: 25-28.

human safeguards, which secular man has discovered in the course of time, particularly since the Renaissance. This is one of the greatest blows to the Church's credibility, and a real threat to her future.

Last but not least the Church's prophetic task is undermined with regard to the functioning of authority in the world. She is handicapped in her liberating mission:

to preach good news to the poor
to proclaim release to the captives
to recover the sight of the blind
and to set at liberty those who are oppressed.¹⁵

The Church is called to a kind of authority – evangelical authority – which no political ruler or party of a secular institution can afford. By clinging to divine authority, which is actually nothing more than a feudalistic structure of authority, and by neglecting ordinary human safeguards the Church defeats her mission to bring about God's order in man's disorder; the weakness of her testimony makes her at least co-responsible for the extremely violent revolts that threaten the future of the human race. If her authority were more evangelical, the world's patterns of authority would also be more evangelical. What is evangelical authority? It is the authority which sides with and takes up for the weakest. The authority which we really need is the authority which protects and helps the weaker men, which supports the oppressed against the oppressors, so that all get a chance to live a truly human life. Such an authority is not opportunistic, does not seek itself, is not worried about the continuation of those in whom authority is invested. It is very anxious to see that the one who can serve best here and now is placed in authority. The Gospel itself gives a fairly adequate description:

A bruised reed he (the Servant of the Lord) will not break, and a dimly burning wick he will not quench; he will faithfully bring forth justice. He will not fail or be discouraged till he has established justice on the earth.¹⁶

15. Lk. 4:18.

16. Is. 42: 3-4; Mt. 12: 20-21.

Also authority in the Church must be constantly earned, i. e. the inspiration one gives, the life one leads, should establish every person's authority and authorize him to continue in authority. One of the blessings of secularization is that it desacralized all authority. The Church's office-bearers cannot escape the reality that no authority of men is divine: hence authority must be constantly earned by those who exercise it. Surely, the more we choose for the weakest, the more vulnerable we are for the high and the mighty. That is precisely why probably only the Christian community can afford this type of authority, which really undermines (and thus revolts against) any form of dominion of one person or group of persons over another. The exercise of this type of authority is one of the greatest services the Church can render to the power-crazy world. It is an important aspect of her mission to make world history a history of salvation, of true and full liberation.

One of the most beautiful demonstrations of the exercise of evangelical authority is found in Jn 8: 1-11 (Christ's meeting with the adulterous woman). Christ surely did not approve of adultery, but he saved the adulterous woman from a hypocritical condemnation and gave her the chance to start a different life. Thus he liberated (at least he initiated the liberation) both of the adulterous woman and the greedy stone-throwers. Evangelical authority believes in the power of love, that "only that victory endures in which no one is defeated".¹⁷ Evangelical authority is the way to that great and final victory, in which no one is defeated. Till that day we have to revolt against the existing order. Evangelical authority surely makes the Church extremely vulnerable, but should she be afraid, when she has the Spirit with her? Did not Christ make himself vulnerable to the greatest extent possible? I believe that the Church, which practises evangelical authority will be far more credible and have a far greater revolutionary influence in the world.

5. Liturgy and revolt

The liturgy, and in particular the Holy Eucharist, where we celebrate the key liberation event of God: the life, death and

17. Gopal Singh, *The Man Who Never Died*, p. 65.

resurrection of our Lord, should be a prophetic and 'enabling' happening; it should help participants to read the signs of the time, i. e. it should equip them to make a truly critical analysis of the society in which they live and of the forces at work there. It should make them aware of the 'real' leaders of our society, of those who are the oppressed and the oppressors. It should make them see (not give them the illusion of) the side on which God is. In the light of God's living Word and particularly in the light of God's Word who became flesh, the Christian community begins to discover that liberation is God's will here and now, and that they are called to revolt against their concrete situation of oppression. Celebrating the Eucharist, the re-enactment of Christ's total commitment to the liberation of mankind, those who follow Christ commit themselves to work with Him and in His Spirit for mankind's liberation. Without such a commitment to liberating action the Eucharist threatens to become an empty rite, from which youth rightly stays away. Such a Eucharist denounces every dehumanizing situation, contrary to the great evangelical ideals of brotherhood, justice and liberty, and announces the Kingdom of God, where all men can experience the love of the Father. As Gutierrez puts it: "The denunciation is achieved by confronting a given situation with the reality which is announced, the love of the Father which calls all men in Christ and through the action of the Spirit to union among themselves and communion with him."¹⁸ Such a liturgy makes the people aware of the incompatibility of the situation of oppression with the thrust of the Gospel; it has a conscientizing and politicizing function; it calls for revolt. For example, to reflect as a community, which comes to commit itself with Christ to the Father's plan, on the blind man sitting at Jericho's gate¹⁹ could easily lead us to the questions: "Who are the people who cannot experience God's mercy and love?" Immediately the question follows: "Who are those who rebuke them and demand their silence?" As soon as we know this in our concrete situation, the only Christian action is to organise those who are silenced and to pressurize those who prevent them from speaking. Very often this will mean political or subversive action. Bertrand de Clercq, quoting S. Galilea, writes: "The express intention of these eucharistic celebrations, 'protest

18. O. c. pp. 262-279.

19. Mt. 20: 29-34.

masses' in various parts of South America, is to make those present conscious of their oppressed state. 'Every truthful and consciously celebrated Eucharist can be regarded as the most radical... act of protest', proclaiming and making present the rule of Christ, 'the only saviour and liberator, the only Lord of history and of man'. This implies that 'his rule excludes every other rule which seeks to dominate men and that in him all men are made free... By celebrating the Eucharist, we commit ourselves to the work of removing all forms of political, social and ideological oppression that are incompatible with what we have proclaimed'.

In a situation of political oppression, the liturgy becomes what J. Bishop has called a 'subversive activity', which, although it does not in itself raise any serious controversial political questions, undoubtedly has political consequences.²⁰

Conclusion

The present economic, social, educational and political situation calls on every Christian to revolt. We must be happy that youth senses the injustice and the inhumanity of the situation. Let us hope that its revolt becomes more than an opportunistic and often selfish expression of frustration; that it starts from a truly critical sociological analysis and is motivated by the faith and vision which our Lady expressed in the *Magnificat* which a modern author renders as follows:

1. Sing we a song of high revolt;
make great the Lord, his name exalt!
Sing we the song that Mary sang
of God at war with human wrong.
2. Sing we of him who deeply cares
and still with us our burden bears.
He who with strength the proud disowns,
brings down the mighty from their thrones.

20. Bertrand D Clercq, "Political Commitment and Liturgical Celebration", in: *Concilium*, Vol. IV no. 9 (April 1973), pp. 113-114.

3. By him the poor are lifted up;
he satisfies with bread and cup
the hungry men of many lands;
the rich must go with empty hands.
4. He calls us to revolt and fight
with him for what is just and right,
to sing and live *Magnificat*
in crowded street and council flat.²¹

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²¹. *Theology in Action*, p. 28.

PART II

Student Revolt in Europe

This article is an attempt to analyze the phenomenon of student revolt in Europe (both capitalist and communist) as far as possible from the students' perspective. In doing so I am largely dependent on materials produced by students themselves and interviews I have personally had.

The why of revolution

Sociologists propose several reasons responsible for the recent upsurge of the student unrest. The phenomenal expansion of higher education and the consequent growth of students' corporate consciousness, the end of the cold war and the reversal of political values, the new role students play in technological societies, new insights and influences that transform their world vision, the 'generation gap', the pressure of the particular socio-political situations they are under are some among them. All these may have contributed in one way or other to promoting revolution. None of them is so exclusive and independent as to be the sole cause of a revolt in a campus. The limited space does not allow a detailed discussion of all the factors. However, a glimpse of some of them may prove useful.

The emergence of the student proletarians

According to one theory students are the new proletarians of the technological society. Unlike those of the developing countries the students of industrially advanced nations are looked upon as force of production. They are educated to be employed

by vast impersonal private organizations or by overwhelming state apparatus. In either case they are 'being employed' and the intellectual contribution they make is not ultimately controlled by themselves, but by those above them. Hence they unite to 'liberate' themselves, from the tyranny from above, capitalist or communist. The French sociologist Alain Touraine compares today's student movement with the labour movement of the past.¹ This Marxian interpretation, though it grapples with student radicalism as a phenomenon, loses ground on two points: first, students do not form a permanent class as their situation is highly transient; secondly, the students of science and engineering, the students closer to the forces of production are usually the least militant. However, the fact that students as a whole show a general sympathy for the working class should be reckoned with in any correct and complete analysis of modern student uprisings. Students formed solidarity alliances with workers in Spain and Italy. The rapid increase in the number of students also indicates that they are no longer a privileged class of society with a sure, secure and honourable future. With suitable alterations this is true also in affluent countries.

Insight and the eruption of student struggles

It is not necessarily those who suffer most who pioneer rebellion: it is those who see more. Students who get a deeper insight into the way the system works are likely to be the first to rebel against it. Thus we find the students of sociology, economics, history etc. in the vanguard of revolutionary movements. The system may favour one or other political view and consequently the structure of his society and polity. His own insights as well as the influence from outside may call him to work for the restructuring of society which may eventually include the overthrow of the present system. From then onwards he feels compelled to reject the passivity which the system imposes upon him. It is however, to be remembered that the students who revolt are in most cases a tiny fraction of the student community. Identity consciousness and mob-psychology do the rest.

1. Alain Touraine, "Naissance d'un Mouvement Etudian", *Le Monde*, March, 7 & 8, 1968.

Pressure of the situation

The actual reason for a revolt may vary from country to country or even from campus to campus. It is always tied up with the existential situation of each country and its universities. The university structure, government control over students, the foreign policy of the country,— all these play important roles in building up revolutions in the campus. A survey of the situation shows how different the causes were, though converging on ultimate goals.²

Germany

In 1962 the students of West Berlin collected money for the Algerian students who were resisting the French. This move was banned by the rector of the 'Free University' of West Berlin.³ Years earlier when students raised funds for the refugees from the Eastern zone nobody had voiced any criticism. Naturally the students could not digest the whole thing. They too protested. Apparently the authorities failed to recognize the birth of a new thinking. The cold war has ended. The new turn of the war is between the consumer society of the neo-capitalist countries and the impoverished nations of the so-called Third World, with students and workers on its side. At least many students think so.

Opposition to the US war policy in Vietnam was at the heart of student struggles in Germany throughout 1967 and 1968. There were other reasons as well. German rearmament, the relationship of West Germany with the Eastern zone, the grand coalition of the Christian Democratic and German Socialist parties etc. were some. But above all there was the experience of a great inner void at least intensified by Germany's economic

2. For a detailed study of revolution in Campuses cf. Stephen Spender, *The Year of the Young Rebels* (London: Wedienfeld and Nicolson, 1969); Fred Halliday "Students of the World Unite" in *Student Power*, Alexander Cockburn and Robin Blackburn ed. (A Penguin Special, 1969), pp. 287-326.
3. The Free University of West Berlin was founded in 1948, a typical creation of the post-war friendship between the U. S. and West Germany.

'miracle', the most blatant show put on by the consumer society. Students were perhaps looking for a higher meaning of life.

France, Italy and Spain

In France and Italy, where foreign domination was less, the struggles of students were centred on problems that were internal. In Italy students demanded the complete transformation of the traditional curricula.⁴ Started in Turin in 1967 the movement was carried to nineteen of the thirty-three state universities.

In October, 1960, France witnessed a nation-wide mass demonstration against the Algerian war, organized by the students. After seven years' quiet, in May 1968, French students came to the fore to stage one of the greatest of student unrest movements of our time. It was not specifically for a political end, though many of the slogans and posters proclaimed communism. The revolt was more directly concerned with the liberalization of the disciplinary rules in the halls of residence, and was philosophically inspired by Jean Paul Sartre and Herbert Marcuse.

The student movement had a different goal in Spain. It was to liberate the official student union *Sindicato Espanol Universitario*, founded in 1936) from government control. The movement came to its culmination in 1968 when students in collaboration with the working class declared three days of national struggle (May 1-3). May day was checked from above, obviously with clashes and casualties. The rebels were taken to the gaol of Carabanchel. Later on a comment was issued from the underground which said: 'The faculty of Carabanchel is the only one which is functioning normally this season, since the university of Madrid has been closed time and again.'⁵

The U. K.

In Britain the momentum of revolution is comparatively slight. In the words of a British militant student of sociology 'a network of traditional pseudo-democratic institutions protect the fortresses of wealth and privilege. A dead weight of long

La Sinistra, 27 Jan. 1968.

Cf. *Student Power*, p. 310.

accumulated customs and beliefs stifles any revolutionary impulse."⁶ Obviously these are the words of an extreme leftist. Britain, on the other hand, respects authority and loves order. Moreover, though the British were pioneers of the Industrial Revolution in the West, in the post-war era the British industries failed to keep pace with the progress made by other industrial countries, say West Germany and Japan. England was also the last industrial country to 'technocratize' her higher education. Above all, Britain, though very smart in her political moves, is far too slow to accept new ideas developed outside the island.

Prague

Students undoubtedly played an important part in ousting Tsarism from Russia and Japanese imperialism from China, leading both countries to communism. In more recent times tens of thousands of young students from universities and secondary schools of Peking calling themselves 'Hong wei Ping' or Red Guards appeared in the Tien-An-Men square on August 18, 1966 to celebrate the beginning of the 'great proletarian cultural revolution'⁷. But it was obviously not the case in Prague when students protested against the Communist Party leadership and the Party-controlled organization of Czechoslovak youth.⁸ In October 1967 Czech students marched in protest through the streets of Prague when the lights went off in their dormitories for the umpteenth time. Their shout 'We want light' symbolically expressed the light of intellectual freedom they were fighting for. But the student movement was brutally suppressed by the police and that was the end.

The students of the Communist world naturally do not enjoy the same amount of freedom as those of the Capitalist

6. Fred Halliday, "The Students of the World Unite" in *Student Power* p. 32; For an opposite view cf. John Sparrow, "Revolting Students?" in *Anarchy and Culture, The Problem of the Contemporary Universities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 172-184.
7. Winberg Chai (ed.), *Essential Works of Chinese Communism* (New York: Bantam Books, rev. ed. 1972), p. 299.
8. For a detailed analysis of student problems in Czechoslovakia, cf. Stephen Spender, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-79.

world to stage protests and to mount political actions against the government in government controlled universities. Hence it can rightly be said that the communists exploit the freedom of expression allowed in the capitalist countries, whereas the right-wing orientated students may find it difficult or even impossible to express themselves in a communist country.

Goals ahead

The goals are naturally related to the causes of revolt. As these are different so are the goals. We have seen how in different situations different factors ignite revolution in campuses. However, there are some general goals students are fighting for.

The first and immediate objective of all the student struggles is the recognition of student power. This is a term coined in imitation of 'Black Power' in the U. S. It is 'the power to determine the structure and content of education.'" It means autonomy, immunity and sharing in the power structures of the university. It also claims the right to organize and mount any kind of political action. Negatively it demands the abolition of all on-campus repressive mechanisms, such as student courts, disciplinary tribunals, campus police etc. At least in their working conditions as they are now.

The transformation of society is the long-term goal the students have in view. This could be effected only with the rise of a new consciousness. Hence the more serious-minded take it as a prime duty to build up a radical consciousness in their fellow students and off-campus friends and allies who would eventually support them.

Ways and means of campaign

The methods of campaign differ from country to country as their specific goals differ. But to a large extent the means employed by the students are convergent and highly contagious. They include among others demonstrations, parades, sit-ins, 'occupations' etc. Demonstrations and distribution of policy statements are mainly meant to arouse consciousness of latent

9. *Student Power*, p. 14.

student power. Programmes like sit-ins and occupations serve other purposes. Confronted with oppositions the militant students feel compelled to reject the entire system which, according to them, is imposed upon them. Hence they choose means to block and stultify the activities of the managerial team. This is no end in itself. In no revolution is the harm done an end in itself. It is just a step in the march towards a better future. By disrupting the rock-solid structures of the institution at least for a limited period of time students think that the main standing objection is dissolving. They show also that it is in their power to hamper the activities of the university and bring them to a standstill. This psychological satisfaction brings along with it also a sense of disalienation and a greater feeling of solidarity among the campaigners which can fuel the dynamism or revolution further ahead.

Achievements and failures

Greater representation in the managerial bodies of the university is the major aim of students, though not on the same scale and level in all countries. Students have also shown that they are more mature than the previous generations of their own age, and for that reason capable of making their own decisions and defending their political views. Staging demonstrations and mounting political activities of various kinds they have also made their impact felt and their power recognized. They launched successful attack on the press in West Germany,¹⁰ brought about the democratization of examination in China¹¹ and put in question the traditional curricula in Italy.¹² They have organized an alliance of solidarity with the workers in Spain and opened the popular struggle against Franco's military dictatorship.¹³ Thus they have shown that a militant student movement can play a vanguard political role on its own in conditions of extreme depression.

10. Fred Halliday, *loc. cit.* pp. 314-315; cf. also *Der Spiegel*, no. 17, 1968.

11. *Loc. Cit.* pp. 300, 324.

12. *Ibid.* p. 307.

13. *Ibid.* p. 310.

But their achievements are coupled with failure. Political preoccupations have displaced attention from study at least occasionally. The spirit of militancy raging in the campus does not naturally create an atmosphere for serene and serious research.

A long-term student struggle has also difficulties in the winning of the necessary result. A relatively privileged social status makes this possible. But to bring about a complete social transformation is beyond the power of the student world, for students are not a social group as such. Their sensibility to injustice is very acute, because they tend to think in terms of ideology. But their consciousness is also highly volatile. It is often hard to sustain a student movement beyond the initial provocation. Hence the tactics of allowing the whole thing to peter out is often used by the authorities. But the latent power is ever in danger of a future explosion.

The future of the student world

On Sept. 30, 1973 Archbishop Angelo Fernandes of New Delhi said, in London: 'Knowledgeable sources report that Mao's China, therefore, appears attractive to increasing numbers of young people and world revolution as the only way to ensure a fair distribution of the world's resources.'¹⁴ He was speaking as a guest of the Justice and Peace Commission and the young people he was referring to were primarily the 'youth of Asia' who 'are actually aware of the need for rapid and radical change.'¹⁵ But the enthusiasm for Mao's Communism is gaining momentum in European university campuses. The recent student elections in France and West Germany bear witness to this. Many of the student revolts in the campuses of the Capitalist countries are mainly led by the students of the radical left-wing. They may be wrong, or perhaps even be exploited by others. But one thing remains true: nationally and internationally students are not at rest. They think something is greatly wrong. They protest, they organize, they revolt. They display a general inclination to the proletarians and the oppressed, and tend to form alliances with the working classes. They raise their voice against what they think injustice, whether it be war in Vietnam, oppres-

14. *The Tablet*, 6. Oct. 1973, p. 953.

15. *Ibid.*

sion of the blacks by *apartheid*, or the persecution of the Africans in Angola by the Portuguese. They see the super powers' world interest as the exploitation of the poor by the mighty and the rich.¹⁶ An acute awareness of, and insight into, the existing socio-political injustice on a small or grand scale, at a national or international level, provokes the students, and, since things do not work out better in step with their desires, they think revolution is the only solution.

There lurks a general ideological preparedness in their minds. Christianity has laid the foundation for a radical sense of equality among all men. The philosophy of Marxism has made students very sensitive to any shade of exploitation, repression or manipulation, and has the incentives for revolution.

Revolution may not be the ideal thing, nor is it the best solution of our problems from a Christian point of view. But in certain circumstances revolution may be inevitable. The social consciousness of the world rises so quickly that it can come to a stage when it cannot tolerate high degrees of injustice and inequalities any longer. And the student world is the best arena where the spirit of the new consciousness can easily be set ablaze. If a tiny fraction of white immigrants can control and keep suppressed the entire indigenous population of a country like South Africa and if that can go on unchecked, if those who fight for the liberation of their own country have to face death, as in Angola, and if that too can go on unchecked, if, as Archbishop Angelo Fernandes testifies, eighty per cent of the world's resources are consumed by twenty per cent of the world's population,¹⁷ - and paradoxically indeed all these are the Christian populations of the world! - who can ever blame the eventual outbreak of a revolution against the existing situation? Students, partially because of their sympathy for the world's less fortunate populace as a whole, partially because of their lack of experience and partially also because of being exploited by the great political parties and powers, are always ready to rise against world governments as a whole including their own. Even if this does

16. For a brief survey of such an exploitation cf. Idris Cox, *The Hungry Half* (London: Laurence & Wishart, 1970).

17. *The Tablet*, 6. Oct. 1973, p. 957.

not materialize the magnitude of the existing condition of national and international injustice and the imbalance gives them impetus to work for the overthrow of the power-structures of the present system, because it does not work for the good of the average man.

In forecasting the distant possibility of such an uprising Archbishop Angelo Fernandes has made a good point to the world at large and to the Christian conscience of the West in particular.

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Student Unrest in Japan

Student activism in Japan presents a confusing picture to the casual observer. Peaceful demonstrators of the Peace-for-Vietnam Federation (*Beheiren*) march alongside club-swinging, stone-throwing extremists. United by firm belief in the redeemer ideology of Marx the single groups fight among themselves in bloody clashes.

Some roots of the movement or at least of the way it expresses itself in action reach into a distant past. Institutions of higher learning existed in Japan as long as twelve centuries ago. They were founded by feudal lords to prepare loyal officials for local or central government or by Buddhist monks to train young men for priesthood. The stern discipline which was enforced a few hundred years later among the *samurai* (warrior) class is well known outside Japan. Something of the *samurai* valour and contempt of the soft life seems to have survived in the life style of the modern student activist in Japan.

Discipline in Japan was until recently enforced along the rigid lines of Confucianist social morality. Up to the end of the

middle ages, in addition, Buddhist monks had to observe celibacy. Theoretically it was still practised when St Francis Xavier arrived in Japan in 1549. Even today few monks belonging to the Zen church of Buddhism observe it voluntarily.

Some of the contradictions in the modern activist attitude, rioting and killing for peace's sake, were already present in the life of the Buddhist monks. When Oda Nobunaga, in the second half of the 15th century, tried with a strong hand to unite the nation he faced violent opposition from thousands of monks. On one occasion he killed three thousand of them in a fierce battle. Even the young clergy in Japan in those days held courage and valour and the manly spirit of the warrior, in high esteem.

How this bellicose mood goes together with the meekness recommended by the founder of Buddhism is a riddle. But in the Christian West, too, we had the crusades and religious wars, a fact which those who preach Christianity as a religion of love and peace find difficult to explain.

The first institutions of higher learning imitating closely modern European and American universities were established in Japan toward the end of the nineteenth century, less than a century ago. Student riots, which were not unknown at that time were limited to a struggle for better food in the dining halls or dormitories or caused by similar motives. At any rate they were not of a political nature.

Political issues became a motivating and propelling factor in student riots only as late as 1918. The activists at that time were inspired by what they read about the Russian revolution. The Comintern was also directly involved in the financing of the initial activities of these groups. The first permanent organization to promote Marxist thinking among students and intellectuals was the *Shinjinkai* (New Man Society) founded in 1918 at what was at that time Tokyo Imperial University; now Tokyo National University (brief: *Tôdai*). From there the movement spread to other colleges and universities and riots broke out in a number of places.

At the time of the nationalist revival during the twentieth and the thirtieth decades, which led Japan to World War II all

leftist student organisations were suppressed. A few diehards were kept in jail until the war was over. Others had been 'converted' by the police. Later events prove that the conversion did not go very deep.

Keeping this in mind we understand better what happened in 1945, after the defeat. All facets of public life were "democratized" under the guidance of the American occupation army. Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan, even inserted a paragraph into her new democratic constitution by which she once and for ever renounced her right to rearmament. Ironically it is just this 'American' provision in the constitution which the otherwise pretty anti-American activists defend now against any attempt by conservative elements to amend the constitution.

Soon after the Communist leaders were released from jail they took the initiative in organizing labour and teacher unions, the Communist Party and through the latter, a massive student movement, the *Zengakuren* (All-Japan Federation of Student Self-government Associations). At the peak of its development the organization introduced 'chapters' in virtually all universities with a membership of several hundred thousand students. These, of course, were not all activists and quite a number of them were unaware that they were counted among the members of the *Zengakuren*. At a university where the *Zengakuren* was established, the entire student body of that institution were counted as members of the organization.

The first leaders of the *Zengakuren* were Communist Party members. The CPJ carefully nursed the movement through the youth section at its headquarters in Yoyogi in Tokyo. Partly probably caused by the rift between Russia and China in politics as well as in ideology which occurred at the same time, a group of "Trotskiites" (so called by the CPJ-controlled faction) challenged Party leadership and were expelled. On June 1, 1958 they clashed with the youth section of the CPJ at the headquarters of the Party.

The monolithic *Zengakuren* split into numerous 'streams', 'sects' and 'factions' once it was no longer controlled by the

Party. The leaders who remained loyal were in the minority and were pushed into the position of an 'anti-main-stream faction'. The main-stream-faction split into so many organizations that it is now impossible to know them all and to know exactly how they differ from one another. The names of the groups which they gave themselves reveal, however, that they do have something in common: they all stand for revolutionary Marxism. Here are some names of the larger and better known groups: 'Revolutionary Marxists', 'Anti-Imperialists', 'Marxist-Leninist Faction', *Fourth International* and so forth.

It took ten years for the Communist Party to recapture the central leadership of the *Zengakuren*. But as things have developed this does not mean much any longer. In July 1973 four *national* conventions were held, sponsored by different groups each claiming to be the only all-Japan national convention of the *Zengakuren*. Attendance at the CPJ-controlled convention with over 3,000 students attending at peak time and counting all those who participated in some or the other of the activities during the four days, was highest and four times as large as the biggest other 'national' convention.

The *Zengakuren* owes its existence not to a spontaneous reaction of youth against all kinds of social evils but to a well-planned effort of the Communist Party. In this sense there was always something artificial about it, though the Party in spreading the movement exploited carefully the psychology of the young, their dissatisfaction with things as they are, and their frequently utopian idealism longing for a better world to come. The movement has been always strongly anti American. One avowed aim of the organizations is the abolishing of the Japanese-American Security Treaty (in Japan brief: *Ampo*).

Observers try to understand what is behind the movement on a deeper level. One can certainly look at it from a psychological or sociological or, may be, even an existential point of view. All these views are legitimate. But the fact must not be overlooked that this is most of all a political movement the aim of which is the overthrow of the present social and political order, if possible by brute force. As long as this is not possible propaganda will be used and brainwashing. It is true, however, that few analysts have the courage to say this bluntly.

All the outspoken factions and all denominations of the movement which go by the name of *Zengakuren* have yelled for twenty-five years their slogan: *Ampo Hantai* (down with the Japanese-American Security Treaty).

There are other issues as well, appealing more to the taste of the man in the street, such as environment pollution caused by the exaggeratedly rapid economic growth, educational reform plans of the government aiming at a remodelling of the education system to fit better into the society of the second half of the 20th century, world peace (October 21 every year), return of Okinawa to the main land (effected in 1970), the fight against atomic weapons (mainly against the ones the USA holds), and such age-old problems like cafeteria prices, tuition fees, and last but not least, the war in Vietnam.

One peculiar feature of Japanese student activism is the perpetual internal strife (*uchi-geba*, 'geba' from the German *gewalt*) between different factions or even within one and the same faction concerning matters of discipline and ideology which seem to outsiders mere trifles. About one hundred and fifty such cases have been reported by the police annually counting only those where bodily injuries were inflicted and not including those which never come to the attention of the police because the victims, too, keep absolute silence over them. Since 1969 when this type of violence first occurred twenty-seven activists were killed by their own Marxist fellow-students. These killings are usually preceded by brutal sadistic tortures. Naturally the general public is shocked, and the set-back the movement suffered recently is in part due to the reaction of the public to such practices.

Did the activists accomplish their goals? The return of the island Okinawa to the homeland would have been carried out as quickly as it was, probably without the students' assistance. They may have promoted the cause somewhat by giving the Prime Minister the opportunity to point at Japanese popular opinion in Washington. Something similar can be said about the end of the war in Vietnam or the students' fight for world peace. The students would have accomplished even more in pursuing such issues which are of general concern if it were not made so clear that the objectives for the activists were not the

real issue. The real issue is revolution and the overthrow of the present liberal order.

In the line of university reform the students in Japan failed to gain anything. Before violent action started in 1968, there was much talk of giving students a greater say in matters of university administration and academic reform. A number of schemes for student participation were drawn up by various bodies. They were all shelved during the time of violent rebellion. The police who had rarely if ever been seen on university campuses in Japan enter its sacred precincts now almost daily, here or there.

There is little fear now that in Japan Marxist cadres will dictate reform policies to the university administration or participate in the process of employing academic personnel. Even the once powerful student self-government organizations under the sway of club-wielding extremists have shrunk to insignificant size and can no longer draw from university funds for extra-curricular activities. The general public has the impression that the extremists are misled idealists, but in their actions have come to resemble more and more the ancient and medieval underground organizations (*yakuza*) which perform ominous roles in modern *samurai* plays.

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Campus Unrest in the United States

In October 1973 student involvement in politics brought about the downfall of a government in Thailand; in the same month the explosive issues of the Middle East War, the Watergate investigation, and the talk of impeachment created hardly a ripple on the serene surface of student life on American campuses. The typical average American student is different from his counterpart in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. The reason is that the American system of higher education is a unique phenomenon in academic history.

While the medieval university – at Bologna, Paris, and Oxford – remained a community of masters or a community of students, the American university became a multiversity: a whole series of communities: the community of undergraduates, the community of graduates, the community of humanists, the community of scientists, the community of professional schools, the community of non-academic personnel, and the community of administrators. It serves the society which it also criticizes. It provides opportunity for all who want to go to college. This democratic policy sky-rocketed enrolment in the public, tax-supported institutions of higher learning up to 20,000, to 30,000, and to 40,000. The universities graduated thousands and thousands of young men and women for responsible jobs in society. A college diploma became a sure passport for jobs in schools, industry, and business. By the 1960's America produced the best educated democratic society in the history of mankind. A non-communist, classless society seemed to be taking shape. A new consciousness began to ferment the relatively calm academic pool. Until the 1960's the academy had never been a center of protest or a hotbed of political activities, or a springboard for social reformers. Society was changing rapidly by the mid-1960's; the university could not remain aloof from the society of which it was a microcosm. Then it happened: a slow but powerful wave of student protest swept over the campuses of the nation.

History of student revolt in the United States

There are several ways of viewing the most recent history of student revolt in the United States; each view contributes its peculiar insight to exposition of this complex movement affecting American life in the 1960's and early 1970's. From the disturbances at Berkeley in 1964 to the bombing of the mathematics research center at Wisconsin in the late summer of 1970, some 2500 college and university campuses experienced trouble and protest of some sort. What happened in these six years varies from mass demonstrations characterized by the shouting of obscenities to silent marches, from destruction of buildings to the killing of students. In this brief span of years, student revolts have effected significant changes especially in the social, political, and academic orders.

Another way of viewing student revolt captures the geographic ubiquity of this phenomenon. From Berkely on the west coast to Columbia and Harvard on the east coast, from Kent State in the midwest to Jackson State in the south, no area remained untouched by student revolt. The east to west in which the United States experienced settlement was reversed by the determined unsettling of her colleges and universities from California to the eastern seaboard. It is not surprising that some regarded the revolt as shaking the very foundations of the nation. Some even hoped that this was the case.

A third way in which we may review the history of student revolt highlights the issues: race, war, and the universities themselves—that brought turmoil to these places during these half-dozen years. The relative silence of previous generations of students in the 1950's and early 1960's may, perhaps, be attributed partly to a sense of timidity that developed after McCarthyite hunting for Communists throughout the States. Perhaps it was partly because students were more involved in college "rites" necessary to prepare junior organization men, or in discoveries that would keep the U. S. ahead of Russia in technology. It may even have been in part the large amounts of federal and state monies pouring into the fast-growing student bodies which induced a kind of filial loyalty and acquiescence in the structures of American society. But when the Supreme Court, on May 17, 1964, struck down the doctrine of "separate but equal" condition

of education in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, seeds of the revolt were planted. Because of this decision social and political confrontations began occurring with some regularity, even at the very doors of the schools. With men like Martin Luther King making an appeal to the moral conscience of young and old alike, the basic ideals of conscience, freedom, and equality took on new vitality. Only youth had the limited commitments and mobility that permitted wide ranging experience in in "protest", both peaceful and violent. Taking this experience back to school with them, many needed only an issue to energize these basic ideals.

Causes of student revolt in the United States

It is obvious by now that racial injustice is a major cause of student revolt in the U. S. If we add the War in Southeast Asia and the university itself, we have the three most pointed causes of campus revolt. The President's Commission reported that it heard testimony suggesting five broad orders of contributory causes:

The pressing problems of American society, particularly the war in Southeast Asia and the conditions of minority groups;

The changing status and attitudes of youth in America;

The distinctive character of the American university during the post-war period;

An escalating spiral of reaction to student protest from public opinion and an escalating spiral of violence; and

Broad evolutionary changes occurring in the culture and structure of modern Western society (PR, pp. 55-56).

Given their nature we distinguish a fourth primary cause, less pointed than the others, but no less vigorous in thrust - an engaging youth culture. In addition to these primary causes, such secondary causes as discipline enforced by university authorities, police brutality, the ROTC programs, and industrial recruiting aggravated the turmoil.

Limiting ourselves to the primary causes, we find that racial injustice itself is a complex aggregate of causal forces. From segregation in schools and restaurants to discrimination in

politics and employment, racial problems have been pinpointed. From programs in black culture to those of social concern for black communities, demands were urged not only on American society but also on the university. Non-compliance or delay brought protest, demonstration, and in many instances violent tactics.

The war in Southeast Asia also operated as a dynamic and complex cause; one that brought protest against draft regulation against the United States bombing raids and the use of napalm, and against the very idea of the United States carrying, on a large scale, land war in Asia. Students brought a charge of complicity between the universities and the government because many schools carried on research, for example, on chemical weaponry. With help offered by the press and faculty themselves, the extent of cooperation between government and universities became more obvious, and the strong financial ties linked with special programs demonstrated the increased politicization of the universities.

Adding university involvement in such programs with the growing bureaucratization of the university (because of great increases in enrolments peaking in the 1960's), we thus find how the universities themselves caused such protests. Housing facilities, social regulations, computer identification of students by means of numbers, indifference of some faculty to student needs, and control of campus speakers are just a few of the issues that pitted university administrations against students. The students had the numbers; the faculty divided their support between students and administrations, while federal and state legislators reacted with threats - actual and otherwise - of financial reprisal.

Confrontations issuing from all three primary causes were indisputably encouraged and abetted by the most radical elements present in the universities. Nevertheless the scope, ubiquity, and intensity of these confrontations indicate that radical pressure and incitement were insufficient to account for all the trouble. We must look elsewhere to find the values determining why so many non-radical groups became actively involved. Whether we choose to call these values the equality or freedom acknowledged in the constitution or whether we call them reinvigorated moral sensitivities makes little difference. They amount to much the

same thing: a conviction that there is a right and a wrong side to issues affecting the lives of human beings.

It is here, perhaps, that we can see youth culture having a significant causal relation to student revolt. To begin with the youth of the 1960's enjoyed unparalleled material prosperity - new homes, new schools, new "things." But these brought neither contentment nor a sense of achievement to them. The youth of the 1960's read the existentialists but refused to accept the nausea of existence. They did, however, experience a keen sense of isolation or separation; "things" kept them from parents, from others, and from themselves. The Hippie Movement sought contentment apart from the structures and systems of society and within communes characterized by simple necessities and professed concern for what they called "love".

The youth of the 1960's developed a society or sub-culture of their own. They found that common concerns and frustrations acted like a force binding them together. They wanted to talk to people, not to races. They wanted to "make love, not war," and they wanted to sing folk-songs, not to recite textbooks. A "new morality" began developing, and that morality, on the one hand, permitted the young to decide if they wanted to follow rules or to break them. On the other, it made rigorous and actual demands in the name of humanity: for discrimination, war, and computerized anonymity were destructive forces affecting everybody. It is significant, for example, that large numbers of white students supported protests and demands by black students. Moreover, although relatively few college students were drafted and sent to the war in Southeast Asia, it was they who contested most vigorously the nation's right and moral stand to engage in the war. Surveys reported on by the President's Commission indicate "that most American students are not fundamentally discontented with their college and university education. But substantial numbers do seem to disapprove of their schools as moral institutions" (PR, p. 74, *their emphasis*).

In concluding this section on the causes of student revolt in the United States, we should note that their roots are not peculiar to the United States. They seem embedded in the combined political, social, economic, and moral matrix of all coun-

tries that have significant numbers of educated youth who are willing to indict what the President's Commission calls "certain features of liberal democratic capitalism - especially 'the affluent society' (PR, p. 86).

Outcome of student unrest

When we ask ourselves what has been achieved by all the protests, violent disruption, and legitimate demonstrations, we find three major issues - racial injustice, the war, and the universities. None of these issues has been dramatically resolved. But at least in the area of racial injustice, genuine changes and improvements have come about. Students and youth in general manifest more understanding and intelligent attitudes whether the focus is on blacks and whites, or whether it turns to the situations of other minorities. Campus demonstrations have helped to diminish racism both on the campus and within American society. Programs of 'black' studies and a steady flow of new books dealing with the history, accomplishments, and character of the blacks in America have deadened cries of arrogance or insurgence. The programs have, moreover, promoted self-esteem among blacks and more tolerance, if not true respect, among many more whites than ever before. Such benefits have had significant influence in politics, employment, and education.

With the coming of the war the situation was noticeably different. The protests and demonstrations grew relatively quiet when government officials promised imminent peace. The war, however, continued. Effects of student anger directed at the war appear to have done little to alter its course. They seem to have had more effect on political conditions at home than on the actual fighting in Southeast Asia. Some students were killed in the protests. But even here they were not permitted martyrdom for a cause, which might have provoked significant change. In each case where students lost their lives in protest against the war, the cause was ascribed to misuse of weapons, to confusion and panic. Perhaps the only thing ultimately achieved by these protests was an underscoring of the ugliness that war imparts to life.

In the universities and colleges around the country, the protests have failed to achieve substantial change. Political and

financial concerns remained major influences on the management of the schools. A generation of students became weary of protest; in part, no doubt, this weariness issued from the frustration at seeing the war grind on day after day. Furthermore, the students had to think of practical matters like getting jobs, and coping with inflation aggravated by the war and a tightening job market

The situation on college and university campuses today

Racial attitudes improved during the 1960's seem to have deepened and remained significantly better than they were eight or ten years ago. Prominent attention directed toward black students on campuses has faded. Black students seem to have gained a firmer position in both the academic and the social world. Corrective measures precipitated by protest seem to continue out of a sense of justice. Some students, conceivably a sizeable minority, remain bigoted and hostile toward blacks. But most students now seek understanding and show concern over racial injustice. Because of the relative success of the black student movement, sympathy and concern have reached out to include regard for the American Indian and the Chicano. If present efforts persist prospects for large gains in the area of racial justice and equality appear very much alive.

Ostensibly the war in Asia is supposed to be over; nevertheless, hostilities continue. The treaties signed earlier this year (1973) brought American prisoners home, yet 10,000 American civilians remain in Vietnam to support the war effort. In Laos Cambodia, and Thailand, Americans continue the war while the present administration remains silent about prospects of genuine peace and of effects of continued American presence in Southeast Asia. News media, forbidden opportunity to cover present military action in Asia and busy revealing the intricacies of the Watergate scandal, have, for the time being, dropped their stories of the war. Most students feel that the war is over, but some are aware that hostilities might escalate again. The mood to protest and the likelihood of demonstrations similar to those of the recent past, seem very remote.

As for the colleges and universities themselves, the administrations remain tied to political and financial concerns. These problems have been aggravated by rapid inflation, by sharply dropping enrolments, and by memory of past protests. Because of the protests, state legislatures are reluctant to give money that might in any way subsidize trouble. A falling job market, diminishing emphasis on the importance of traditional degrees, and an actual decline in the numbers of potential freshmen, have cut enrolments at all but the best schools. The rising costs of advanced education have kept many students from leaving home to go to school. Many students now seek to go to community colleges, and, in addition, many are looking for professional and technical schools to assure better job opportunities. Finally, the complex economic issues affecting the nation come to bear on the students' ability to pay for higher education. Because they need to work at least part time to help pay costs, many students carry reduced course loads, which affect overall enrolment figures. It is understandable why university administrators have made little effort to alter the schools' posture towards industry or federal and local government: they see there is a chance that money might possibly be forthcoming.

If we consider youth culture itself, we find that the growing conservatism in government is reflected by a growing conservatism among the young people. A new generation of practical, hard-headed conservatives maturing during the "depression" of the 1970's have no time for rebellion. Survival is more important, if we speak within an economic framework. These young people are more stoic because they know the futility of resistance, which came to them as a shock wave after what took place at Kent State. Because a college degree no longer guarantees a job and because the war and racial problems appear out of the way, "issues" for young people have contracted to personal ones. Young people now live their lives on a more personal level: they consider problems without trying to make social or political issues out of them. There is a growing awareness of changing mores in society at large, so that society considers itself a youthful society. The problems of the college student of the 1960's are the problems of the adult world of the 1970's. With enfranchisement and growing up, the youth of the 1960's have become the adults of the 1970's.

By and large, people are settling down, tired of the exaggerated mobility and rapid changes of the sixties. Incapable of coping with overwhelming changes they are disillusioned by the inflated hopes of science and technology. The ancient fear of communism and the subsequent desire to conquer the world for democracy, are fading away. Occasionally one can hear voices of neo-isolationism in international politics. Then there is the individual's desire to cultivate his own garden. Above all, there is a greater reawakening of the more fundamental religious and moral values, insofar as young people are turning to varying forms of meditation, rejecting drugs, and seeking more stable relationships by living together as couples; but they remain too cautious to try committing themselves by marriage.

The universities, however, have not become centers of oppression. They are still centers of free enquiry, and as such, they are vulnerable to violence and unrest. National leaders and university people regard unrest, criticism, and protest as vital signs of freedom and progress. The Black school of Louisiana, Southern University, last year had a bout of violence that brought about the death of two students. It may have been but an echo of what happened at Kent State or Jackson State, but it may also be a reminder that disturbances, once so dramatic, remain possible.

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Student Youth in Latin America

It is as difficult to generalize about Latin American youth as it is about any other aspect of this contradictory continent. To generalize is to find common trends or characteristics in a given situation, a hard feat to accomplish in a continent which, at first sight, stuns us by its variety and contrasts. Such contrast and even the co-existence of extremes seems at times the very essence of Latin America, whether we refer to the landscape, population, cultural aspects or social organization.

Latin America is a young continent. Half of its population are twenty or under, and most of its countries have a large demographic growth. Production has not kept up with growth, and conceivably will not be able to do so in the near future. If we add to this the lack of job opportunities we have a fairly explosive situation. Latin America, however, is not an overpopulated continent. In spite of its tremendous demographic growth it has one of the lowest densities of population in the world. What appears to be mostly a problem of overpopulation is basically a problem of distribution and underdevelopment. At least half of the young people of Latin America are illiterate. Many are country-dwellers. I am going to deal here with the small but influential number of Latin American students, from where the future leadership will emerge.

There are very few university students. They constitute only four per cent of their age group (in Argentina it goes up to fourteen per cent, in Uruguay and Chile to seven per cent, in some countries it is less. Four per cent is the average). They come mostly from the elite and from the middle classes. Recently, some students of working class origin have also enrolled. Because universities are in the cities, most of their students come from urban centers. The influence of Latin American students far exceeds their numbers.

The students have traditionally been involved in political and social struggles, and have consistently identified themselves with the "underdog", with the most dispossessed and exploited in the population. Latin American students have perhaps, the

oldest tradition of political activism. Their activities were and are of two types: those related to general social and political matters and others to the university itself. Concerning the latter, students have sought to modernize institutions and make them more democratic. Since the 1918 Cordoba University Reform, which later spread to other universities, these have been, for the most part, autonomous, and independent of political pressures. They have self-government, and the highest authority is the *Claustro*, made up of the deans, students and alumni.

The fight for control of the university is sometimes fierce. During a dictatorship, one of the first things to occur is the military occupation of the universities and the dispersal and elimination of students and faculty who criticize the government. It has happened in almost every country, in Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, and most recently in Chile and Uruguay, both countries with the longest tradition of university autonomy.

There also is constant friction between the government and students in regard to the usual meagre funding of the universities by the government. Latin American universities have chronic financial troubles, are understaffed, and lack appropriate research facilities, library funds, etc. Outside university matters, the tension between students and the government rests on their opposite outlook in regard to social problems and solutions. The consequences of political activities by students vary according to the country. In some countries student activities have been instrumental in overthrowing dictators and shaping policies; in other countries, with a more complex social structure, where other organized groups (political parties, labour unions, etc.) take the role of the opposition, student activities have less dramatic consequences.

Regarding the relationship between students and government, Arthur Liebman in a 1972 study of Latin American university students speaks of two possibilities of student action: "visionary politics", and a role in the social and economic development of the country. So far the most generalized role has been in visionary politics. Only in Cuba under Castro and in Chile under Allende, does Liebman find the fusion of the two roles. Until the other Latin American governments become seriously committed to social justice only visionary politics will be open to students. What sort

of vision do the students have? What do they want for Latin America? What do they believe in?

Most of the young leaders are Marxists. They are not necessarily Communists or affiliated to any party, but they generally analyze social problems from a Marxist viewpoint. They see socialism as the only road to solve Latin American problems and to integrate the different countries into a meaningful and cooperative whole. Young Latin Americans are both nationalistic and deeply anti-imperialist. Many see the US as their enemy. They fight for a more diversified economy, state control of natural resources, and control of foreign investments, as well as a more equal distribution of income.

The Cuban revolution has become the most fundamental experience of the last decade. It is the point of departure for any discussion or vision of America. The Chilean experience also had a great importance. Allende's fall originated a great wave of student protest throughout Latin America and probably will have lasting effects.

Culturally, the students are searching for the roots of Latin American culture, turning their eyes to the populist culture since they believe that the city or official culture, with its European orientation is a colonial product and therefore is alienated from the deep truth of Latin America. They do not reject America's Western traditions, since they are also part of its history. They reject a unidimensional view of the continent and seek to resolve the old conflicts between city and country cultures in a deeper unity. Intellectuals, writers and young people are searching into the Indian roots, the Indian mythologies, the African rites of former slaves, the chronicles of the Conquistadores for a key to an understanding of Latin America. Their vision is more ambiguous, richer and more complex than any other held before them. The most outstanding manifestations of such attitudes are seen in the literature and in the so-called new cinema of Latin America (particularly that of Argentina and Brazil). There is a deep interest in what is Latin American, sometimes to the point of excluding everything else.

Sometimes, universities were recruiting grounds for guerrilla fighters. In the last two years, however, there seems to be a decline in guerrilla activities (except in Argentina). In Uruguay, the tupamaros were wiped out; in Venezuela and Peru, its former members are participating in political processes. The young are supporting the nationalist regimes of Peru (governed by a military junta) and Argentina (with Perón). Many students joined guerrilla movements because they saw political militancy as the only alternative. This is particularly true of countries like Uruguay – with an ever-increasing impoverishment of the middle classes – where students were almost certain of unemployment after graduation.

This year has been extremely difficult for the southern zone of Latin America. In Argentina, prior to the elections, there were widespread unrest, guerrilla activities, general strikes, and student discontent. With the return of Perón, the country is seemingly peaceful. The universities have regained some of the autonomy that they had lost during the military regimes. Old professors, fired by the military, have been reinstated. In Chile, the universities are under military rule. Deans have been expelled and replaced by military men. In Uruguay the university was closed in November after government troops occupied it. The deans of the different schools, the Rector (something like a president) and most student leaders are still in jail. No word has been said as to when and under what conditions the university will be reopened. In these three countries, more than in any other in Latin America, there has been a close relationship between students and workers. What happened to the universities under the military has also happened to labour unions. In Uruguay, shortly before the university was occupied, the labour unions were dissolved and their leaders sent to jail.

The future looks unsure, but force has never stopped protests or vindications for long.

Philippine Youth in Revolt

Changed patterns of dissent

The world has heard much about the Communist-led Huk revolt in the Philippines in the post-World War II years and in the early fifties – a revolt that was broken by the imaginative and forceful leadership of the then Secretary of National Defence (later President) Ramon Magsaysay, with heavy American logistical and technical aid.

Since the late sixties, however, there has been a resurgence of Leftist activities. This rejuvenated Left is qualitatively different from the Left which controlled the Huk movement. The Huk struggle was waged mainly by disgruntled landless peasants, led by a few middle-aged Marxist ideologists. But the current Leftist ferment overwhelmingly involves youth. Most of the cadres of the various Leftist groups are in their teens or in the early twenties. The same may be said of the Maoist *New People's Army*, the most powerful Leftist armed force battling against the government.

Even the non-Marxist Muslim rebels in the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu, are relatively young. Their armed struggle pits them against many of their elders, who have sided with the government. Obviously in the Philippines today it is youth who are in revolt.

Roots of revolt

This revolt has complex origins. Some of its more important causes are the rising expectations of the middle class, the under-development of the national economy, the socio-economic and political injustices in Philippine society, the inefficiency and corruption of the government, and the recent reawakening of nationalism.

The Philippines has one of the highest proportions of university students to the general population. Filipinos set great value on formal education, and parents make great sacrifices to

send some of their children to college or university. Higher education, together with the impact of capitalist advertizements which flood the mass media, has made youth crave for a standard of living higher than that which their parents were content with, and yet these more sophisticated needs cannot be satisfied, owing to the underdeveloped condition of the national economy and its chronic and massive unemployment.

Scanty as are the fruits of the ailing Philippine economy, these are largely appropriated by foreign business interests, mainly American and Japanese, and by the local feudal and capitalist allies of foreign business, who control the sources of economic, political and military power, and use the government machinery to further their personal and family interests. The government, controlled by these oligarchs, brought about neither social justice nor integral and orderly national development. The presence of American military bases in Philippine territory, the dominant role of American advisers in the Philippine military set-up and the foreign control of manufacture and mining, have all markedly exasperated the discontent of the young intelligentsia who burn with the nationalist fervour which is now sweeping the Third World.

Failure of traditional institutions

The state-owned University of the Philippines, the public school system, and the large non-denominational private school sector have habitually imparted a pragmatic and somewhat positivistic world view to the student population, and this, combined with the family-centered Oriental outlook, produces a social ethos unfavourable to the pursuit of the common good.

The Catholic Church has not done much to improve the situation. She had lost much moral power because of the abuses committed by the Spanish friars in the nineteenth century, abuses which were among the grounds for the Revolution of 1896. The reduced influence of the Catholic Church has, by no means, been great, because of the overwhelmingly conservative orientation of the bishops, the clergy and the prominent laity. These have yet to honestly confront themselves with the personal and institutional implications of the grave problems of the Philippine situation: neo-colonialism, feudalism, economic underdevelopment, social

injustice. To make matters worse, many leading Catholics, both clergy and laity, are part of the socio-economic structures which perpetuate these problems or remain tolerant of them. The most that the traditional Catholic leadership has offered has been a feeble, hesitant and ineffective kind of reformism which nobody takes seriously.

The other Christian Churches have little impact on the situation because of their smaller membership. Besides, they are generally more conservative than the Catholic Church in political and ideological matters.

The Left moves into the vacuum

By the late sixties, the frustration and anger of youth had reached boiling point. Filipino Marxists, who had mostly become Maoists by this time, took advantage of the vacuum of politico-economic ideas, and made a rapidly increasing number of militant converts. By the time martial law was proclaimed in September 1972, the Maoists controlled by far the largest and most effective youth groups. They had even taken over some sections of Student Catholic Action, and even persuaded a number of Christians clergy and layfolk, to join with them in a national united front.

Smaller groups of Catholic youth were convinced of the need for national liberation, but they found the Marxist theory and practice intellectually and morally unacceptable. These groups, retaining an integrally Christian world view, evolved towards a Filipino version of Democratic Socialism, and organized themselves for a protracted armed struggle, supported by only a few of the lower clergy, and generally ignored if not opposed by the hierarchy and by the entrenched wealthy lay leadership.

Though rooted in the deep disorders of Philippine society, youth revolt was increased by the reports of unprecedented corruption in the administration of President Ferdinand Marcos, who assumed office in 1965. Cynicism turned to rage when he was rumoured to have spent hundreds of millions of pesos from the public treasury to get re-elected in 1969. This, coupled with further stories of his rapidly accumulating wealth, or the luxurious and publicity-seeking habits of his wife, of abuses by his

favourites, and of corruption at all levels of the government, fanned the flames of revolt.

The rebels divided

The rebel youth groups are ideologically divided. True, all of them now seek the overthrow of the regime by armed struggle, peaceful means being rendered impracticable by the prohibition, under the present martial law regime, of all oppositionist political activity. Yet each group, as we should expect, has its own alternative to the present dispensation.

Thus the Maoists want eventually to establish a Marxist socialist state ideologically modelled on People's China, while the smaller traditional Communist Party would like their post-revolutionary regime to follow the ideological direction of the Soviet Union.

The Democratic Socialist groups are fighting to establish a state which is democratic in politics, anti-imperialist in foreign affairs, socialist in economics, and open to religious and spiritual values and institutions. They would cooperate, however, with a temporary military regime that would be nationalist, anti-imperialist, socialistic and non-communist.

The objectives of the Muslim rebels vary from the abolition of feudal agrarian and political relations imposed by their *datu* or chieftain system, to the establishment of an independent Muslim state in the south-western part of the Philippines.

There is now a temporary informal truce between the various rebel groups, since the "principal contradiction" is with the establishment.

Uncertain prognosis

Martial law damaged the youth revolt, but did not destroy it. The military were able to slow down the momentum of revolt appreciably because the rebel groups had had time to politicize only a small segment – the most articulate one – of the youth and of the Filipino citizens. If the Maoists had had perhaps two more years the regime would most likely have fallen to them, so strong

was the momentum they were generating, and so many were the converts among those whom they proselytized, especially among the young intelligentsia.

The outcome of the struggle will depend to a large extent on the ability and willingness of the regime to institute basic socio-economic changes resulting in greater equality and prosperity, and also on the awakening of the Christian churches to their prophetic role in society.

If the causes of discontent are not eliminated, the revolt will smoulder on. When a critical mass of the citizens has been politicized, the regime may be overthrown, and if, by the time, a revolution has been successful, and the Christian churches have not awakened to their duty of witnessing to justice and serving the poor, the future of the Philippines will be constructed without and against them. The Maoists or the traditional Communists may prevail.

If the Democratic Socialists triumph, the Christian churches will be tolerated, out of love for Christ and respect for human dignity, but certainly not out of love and respect for the leaders of the Churches who bear His name, leaders who neither know how to read the signs of the times, nor how to lay down their lives for their sheep.

PART III

Discussion Forum

FREEDOM AS THE POWER TO DO GOOD

In his review of Dr Podimattam's book, *Relativity of Natural Law* (Cf. *Jeevadhara* 18, pp. 540-541), Mr P. T. Chacko has not, it seems to me, touched the real core of the matter. He remains content by making a "few hints". Well, it is certainly up to the reviewer to touch or bypass the main issues of a book, and I do not in the least want to review a review. My purpose in penning this short note is a different one.

I do not know whether or not Fr Häring's philosophical positions are fragile, nor am I in a position to judge the congeniality of the Academia Alfonsiana for original philosophical discussion. I also fail to see how Dr Podimattam's "original sin" has affected his thesis against which Mr Chacko has really no point to make. But some of the "hints" given by Mr Chacko seem to betray the weakness of his own philosophical positions.

What, for instance, is Mr Chacko's concept of freedom? Dr Podimattam's definition of freedom as 'the power to do good' is, observes Mr Chacko, a deplorable heritage from Fr Häring. To be sure, Fr Häring is not the originator of this notion of freedom. Any student of the history of philosophy knows that there has always been a trend in philosophical thought which maintained that a man is most free when he does what he ought to do (i.e. what is objectively good for man). Mortimer Adler in his *Idea of Freedom* styles this understanding of freedom as the freedom of self-perfection, in order to distinguish it from the other two senses in which the term freedom is used by philosophers, namely, freedom of self-realization and freedom of choice or self-determination.

It is a pity that text-book scholasticism has identified freedom with freedom of choice, defining it as subjective active

indifference. And I wonder whether it is not this definition that Mr Chacko is anxious to uphold. The definition of freedom as the power to choose between alternatives (even moral alternatives) does not refer to the meaning of freedom but only to its physical pre-condition.

To bring out the ontological meaning of freedom it should be defined in the context of the total meaning of human existence. Our existence is not only a datum but also a task. More than any one of the multifarious realities that surround him in the world into which he is thrown, man finds his existence a project unto himself.

He has, with responsibility to himself, to grow towards a fuller actualization of what his nature has granted him. It is by orientating ourselves to a definite goal, and committing ourselves to it, that we realize the project of our own life.

The goal one sets oneself is the goal of one's own life. Freedom experiences itself most intimately when man posits those acts by which he realizes the project of his own life. In the experience of achieving self-perfection by increasingly approximating to the goal of one's existence, man understands his freedom as the power to do good. And every act of evil is experienced as the disorganization of one's life-project, and consequently the disorientation of freedom itself. Performance of good, in this sense, is an exercise of freedom while perpetration of evil is freedom's own self-destruction. He who sins is not enhancing his freedom but actually encapsulating it. "Everyone who commits sin is a slave" (Jn 8:34), whereas, as Seneca notes, a slave can still be a truly "free" man. In choosing to do evil man enslaves himself and weakens the power of freedom itself. If this is true, how can one seriously question the statement that freedom is the power to do good?

Freedom of self-perfection in no wise implies that we are not responsible for our evil actions. On the contrary, precisely because freedom is the power to do good, its refusal to do good is blameworthy. Responsibility does not originate merely from an external source. Evil acts are reprehensible to the extent to which they are freedom's own condemnation of itself.

This brief note is not meant as an exposition of the nature of freedom. All that is emphasized here is that freedom is the inner power granted to man by which he can fulfil the project of his own existence and as such it can very well be described as the power to do good.

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